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LECTURES
ON THE
RELIGIOUS HISTORY
OF THE
SLAVONIC NATIONS.

BY
COUNT VALERIAN KRASINSKI,
AUTHOR OF THE "HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN POLAND,"
"PANSLAVISM AND GERMANISM," &c.



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TO

THE RIGHT HON. LORD ASHLEY, M. P.

My Dear Lord Ashley,

It was my effort to add a mite to the promotion of truth, by delineating the religious history of my country, which first earned for me your friendship,—a success which I consider as the greatest reward that my labours could ever obtain, and which it will be always the object of my pride to deserve. I therefore take the liberty of dedicating to you this production, the object and tendency of which are the same as those of the work to which I have alluded, though its subject is more extensive, and its form more condensed.

Besides these motives of a personal nature, there are others of a public character which make me anxious to place this new work under the protection of your name. You are a truly conservative statesman; for your unceasing efforts to alleviate the sufferings of humanity, by elevating the moral and physical condition of the most numerous class of society, are the only real means to prevent those terrible commotions which have shaken the whole frame of the social edifice in many countries. This important part of the population of every State has been designated by some

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political writers as "the dangerous classes;" dangerous indeed, because suffering. Yet there are not only classes, but whole nations, which, on account of their sufferings, are dangerous to the repose and security of Europe, and whose unsatisfied wants are an incessant cause of peril to others. This is the case with a great part of those nations whose religious history I have attempted to sketch, and whose wants, though more of a moral than a physical nature, are no less real; because man nationally, as well as individually, cannot "live by bread alone." These wants are of a conservative, and not of a destructive nature; for they are not the inordinate cravings for mere change, which have often subverted the welfare of individuals as well as of nations, but the natural instinct implanted by the hand of the Creator in the bosom of every man, and which prompts him to worship his Maker, to learn his duties towards God and man, to cultivate and to develop his intellect, and to regulate the most important relations of his life in the language which Providence has allotted to his nation, and not to be an alien upon his native soil. Every consideration of religion, humanity, justice, and of a sound policy, demands that those wants should be satisfied, and that the nations by which they are felt should thereby be converted into a conservative element of the polity of Europe, instead of remaining a source of danger to its peace and security. This desideratum may be easily attained, if the statesmen of Europe will imitate the noble example which you are setting them in your own country,

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by your efforts to overcome evil with good, and will endeavour to conquer revolution by reform, and govern the nations entrusted to their care upon the principles of the Magna Charta of mankind, which God himself has given it, in the shape of his Holy Writ.

Permit me to assure you, at the same time, that it will be a great source of gratification to those whose claims I have attempted to bring before the British public, to know that such a man as you takes an interest in their welfare ; and that whatever may be the national and individual faults of the Slavonians in general, and of the Poles in particular, ingratitude is not one of them. This feeling, my Dear Lord Ashley, will always animate

Yours, sincerely obliged,

THE AUTHOR.

P R E F A C E.

THE religious history of a nation is the history of its most important intellectual and moral development, and has always exercised the most decisive influence upon its political and social condition. This truth becomes evident by a comparison of the countries which, during the last three centuries, have developed their political institutions and their social relations under the influence of Protestantism,—as, for instance, Great Britain and Holland,—with those where a similar development has taken place under the guidance of the Roman Catholic Church, as in Spain, Portugal, and Italy. But nowhere, perhaps, has this truth been exemplified in a more striking manner than amongst the Slavonic nations, because they all advanced in their intellectual and political development with the progress, and invariably declined with the decay, of scriptural religion in their countries. On the other hand, the advance of the national intellect and liberal institutions amongst them always led to ecclesiastical reforms, and a gradual return to the

doctrines and discipline of the primitive Church. I shall therefore preface the religious history of these nations, contained in this volume, by a few remarks on their present political condition, which must have a decided influence upon their religious development.

No one can have watched with any care the progress of events in Eastern Europe during the last few years, without having become strongly impressed with the conviction that the Slavonic nations are called by Providence to enact, at no distant period, a prominent part on the stage of the world; and the great drama, of which the first act has now been performed in that quarter of the world, goes far to confirm this opinion. These nations constitute the most numerous race of Europe; they occupy the largest portion of its territory; and extend their dominion over the whole of the north of Asia. The population belonging to this race amounts to eighty millions of souls, living under the rule of Russia, Austria, the Ottoman Porte, Prussia, and Saxony.* A strong intellectual movement animates all the branches of the Slavonic family; and their literature has produced during the last quarter of a century a great number of superior works in every branch of human knowledge. This intellectual movement is attended by a growing tendency towards a union of all these branches amongst themselves, as well as their separation from nations of a different origin, with whom many Slavonians are now politically united. This tendency is a natural

* *Vide Appendix.*

result of an increased communication between the different branches of the Slavonic race, because they have led to the universal recognition of this important fact, that all the Slavonians, notwithstanding the various modifications resulting from the influence of different climates, religions, and forms of government, are in all their essentials one and the same nation, speaking various dialects of the same mother tongue, so nearly connected amongst themselves, that the sailors of Ragusa can freely converse with the fishermen of Archangel, and the inhabitants of Prague as easily communicate with those of Warsaw and Moscow.

It is now about eighteen months since I attempted in another work to draw the attention of the British public to the importance of the Slavonic movement; and the alarms which I expressed in that work about the dangers to which Hungary was exposed, in consequence of the unfortunate dissension between the Magyar and Slavonic nationalities of that country, have been verified in the most cruel manner.* The bloody Saturnalia by which the Austrian Government has inaugurated the restoration of its authority by the great Slavonic power in that ill-fated country, cannot be productive of favourable consequences, either to that Government itself or to its subjects; but this it would be out of place to discuss here. Whatever may be the final result of the Hungarian tragedy, one thing is certain,

* *Panславism and Germanism*, p. 187.

viz. that, having brought about exactly the same contingency which I had pointed out in the above-mentioned work as inevitable,* namely, the absorption of the separate political existence of Hungary in that of the whole State, to which it had hitherto only been appended, it has given to the Slavonic population of Austria a decided preponderance over the other nationalities of that empire ; and the effects of this combination must become apparent at the first meeting of the Austrian Parliament, if the constitution of the 4th March is ever to be put into execution. It is the national feeling of the southern Slavonians, irritated by the unfortunate circumstance which I have amply described in the work alluded to,† and not any enthusiastic sentiments of loyalty towards the Hapsburg dynasty, that has made them the willing tools of the Austrian Government against the German democracy of Vienna, as well as against the Magyars. Yet if this feeling was sufficiently strong to engage them in an active hostility against the Magyars, with whom they were united for centuries in one polity, merging their national feelings into one of Hungarian patriotism, by which they were mutually animated, how much less will these Slavonians sacrifice the above-mentioned feeling to the exigencies of a central power, having a decidedly German character, upon the maintenance of which the policy of the Austrian Cabinet seems to be set. It is now idle to

* *Panславism and Germanism*, p. 319.

† *Ibid.* p. 182.

speculate about the issue of the struggle of dialectic interests which must come into collision in an assembly composed of so many different nationalities. It is, however, very probable that the Slavonians, although split into many dialects, will come to an understanding upon the principle of the literary Pan-slavism which I have described in the work referred to.*

Whatever may be the issue of the national struggle which must take place at the general parliament of Austria, if such ever be convoked, there can be no doubt that the national feelings of the Slavonic populations of that empire, strongly excited by the recent events which have already led to important concessions in their favour, will continue to develop themselves with increased vigour; and that unless this development is checked by the central power, which may lead to dangerous consequences, it will rapidly proceed in the career of reform, without excepting that of the Church. It will certainly meet with a strong opposition from the ultra-Romanist party, directed by the Jesuits, and supported by an influential coterie at court, and amongst the aristocracy; but it will be joined by the leading men of the national party, chiefly amongst the Bohemians, who have shown the best organization and the greatest political tact of all the Slavonians of Austria during the events subsequent to the insurrection of Vienna on 13th March 1848. These events deserve

* *Panslavism and Germanism*, p. 104.

to be watched with particular attention by all the Protestants of Great Britain who are not indifferent to the religious affairs of Europe, which begin now to be intimately connected with those of a political character; and I sincerely hope that the contents of this volume may become useful in assisting to form a correct judgment of the events to which I allude, because it is the previous history of individuals, as well as of nations, which gives us the best means to judge about their character, and consequently their future actions.

Germany must have a decided influence, not only upon the future political, but also religious development, of the western Slavonians, and which must react in more than one respect upon Germany. I have developed this subject in a detailed manner in the work to which I have several times alluded; and as it has been translated into German, and as I have reason to hope that this volume will meet with the same advantage, I seize this opportunity to press again upon the attention of the German politicians, that not only every consideration of religion, justice, and humanity, but also those of their own interest, demand that, instead of irritating the national feelings of the western Slavonians, by attempts to arrest their political development, they should promote a mutual good understanding, by assisting the progress of that development.

For my own part, although I cannot but be deeply pained by the hostile sentiments which the great majority of the Frankfort Diet evinced towards my

nation in the affair of Posen, I am far from rejoicing that the observations which I have ventured to make on this assembly when it was in the zenith of its glory, have been completely borne out by subsequent events.* The existence of a strong, and consequently united Germany, is a European necessity, required for the interests of its civilization, including those of the western Slavonians. But the best interests of Germany require also that she should be just towards those Slavonians, because they have now become awakened to a sense of their national dignity, and acquired the consciousness of their own importance and strength, and consequently they will not resign that position to which they are entitled by nature and by justice. They will not submit to the political supremacy of Germany ; but they will not oppose the influence of her superior civilization. They will form an efficient barrier between her and Russia : is it wise to convert this barrier into a vanguard of this power ? Every enlightened Slavonian knows well that the moral and material progress of his nation will be much better promoted by an intimate alliance with the west than with the east of Europe, and that such a progress is far preferable to all the gratifications of national vanity derived from a predominant position in the political world. He will not, however, purchase the advantages of a material civilization at the price of a political vassalage to a foreign race, whose superior civilization will thus not develope, but

* *Panslavism and Germanism*, p. 331.

will destroy, his own nationality. He will rather, if no other alternative is left to him, merge the destinies of his separate branch in those of its whole race, without any regard to the form in which it may be represented, and seek compensation for this sacrifice in the dazzling prospects of a political Panslavism. I have attempted, in the work to which I have so frequently referred, to point out the possibility of such a combination ; but I little expected then, that Austria, whose most vital interests demand her to oppose this combination, would be obliged to throw herself into the arms of the great Slavonic power by which it may be accomplished, and that she should promote it herself in a great measure by the nameless policy which she has adopted towards the Magyars,—the nation upon which she could rely the most in her opposition to the progress of Russia, particularly since the time when the influence of that power was established in Galicia by the atrocities of Tarnow.

Is it necessary to expatiate about the immense accession of power which Russia has gained through her intervention in the affairs of Hungary, by establishing her influence more firmly than ever over the southern Slavonians, who speak dialects closely resembling the language of her inhabitants, and the great majority of whom belong, in common with her, to the Eastern Church ? No one who is in the least conversant with the political state of Europe will suppose for a moment, that the check which Russia has received, in her threatened aggression upon Turkey, by the energetic conduct of the British and French Governments,

will make her desist from her projects of aggrandisement, which have become a political instinct, not only of her cabinet, but also of her subjects.* She will therefore increase her efforts to promote her influence over the Slavonians of Turkey, and in this manner inflict a severer blow upon the Ottoman Porte than could be done by a most successful campaign. If Russia obtains a direct or indirect dominion over the southern Slavonians, she will thereby completely outflank the western ones, and easily force them to enter her political system, and to make their destinies dependent upon her own. I am far from exulting, that the alarms which I expressed eighteen months ago about Hungary, and to which I have already referred in this preface, have been literally fulfilled. I deeply lament the event, as every friend of humanity must do. No gift of prophecy, but only a tolerable knowledge of the subject, was required to make this prediction; and it is by no means pleasant to perform the part of Cassandra, either in public or private. I only refer to it in order to show that the contingency to which I allude is much less improbable than it may appear to those who have not had an opportunity of studying the subject. I would therefore entreat all those who have at heart the cause of religion, civilization, and humanity, to give their serious consideration to this subject. I do not wish to force my opinions upon others; all that I demand from them

* I have developed this subject in my essay on *Pan-slavism*, p. 32.

is "to come and see." The danger is great and impending, but it is not yet too late to avert it. The calm and dispassionate voice of England may do much to soothe the mutual animosities between the Slavonians and the Germans, and prevent a war of races, the horrors of which may be conceived by the atrocious scenes which more than once occurred in the conflicts between the Magyars, Slavonians, Wallachians, and Germans, during the Hungarian troubles. All these calamities may be prevented by promoting amongst the Slavonians who are not yet under the dominion of Russia, the development of their nationality upon the principles of constitutional liberty. This is a practical measure ; and, if properly carried into execution, it will be able to counterbalance the influence of Russia upon those Slavonians, supported though it be by her immense material forces, and may even exercise a powerful action upon her own population, by which she may be eventually forced to adopt a more liberal system herself. This measure may be easily accomplished, because all those Slavonians to whom I have alluded will prefer a free national existence to the ambitious schemes of political grandeur ; but they will not consent to purchase liberal institutions at the price of their nationality, for they well know that the former may be often acquired by a sudden revolution of political circumstances, and are sure to be, sooner or later, obtained by the progress of civilization ; whilst the latter, once lost, will never be recovered. Attachment to their nationality is a distinctive trait of the character of the Slavonians. It animates as much

the ignorant boor as the most accomplished scholar, and it is now as strong as it was a thousand years ago. The Emperor Leo the Philosopher (881–912) says, that the Slavonians preferred being oppressed by their own princes, to obeying the Romans and their laws;* and the Croats of our own time took up arms against the Magyars, with whom they had for centuries remained in the closest political union, enjoying all the advantages of their constitution, without ever having attempted to dis sever it, only because their national feelings were irritated by a scheme to force upon them the language of the Magyars. This feeling is much less strong in the Teutonic race, whose patriotism is of a local nature. The Germans of Alsatia are French in their feelings, and glory in that name, and it is the same with those of the Baltic provinces of Russia. The case is, however, different with the Slavonians; and a German writer has justly observed; “that the patriotism of the Slavonians is not attached to the soil, but that they are kept together by one great and powerful bond, by the bond of their language, which is as pliant and supple as the nations who speak it,”† and I may add to this observation, that what an eminent British statesman has so truly said of the Poles, “*Coelum non animum mutant*,” is applicable to all the Slavonians.‡

* *Tactica*, cap. xviii. sec. 99.

† M. Bodenstedt, in an article in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 11th May 1848, entitled “*Die Slaven und Deutschland*.”

‡ The following characteristic anecdote may serve as
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This feeling of nationality has now become stronger and more universal than ever amongst the Slavonians, as well as the belief that our race is destined to assume a position in the world proportionate to its numbers and the extent of its territory. This belief is not founded upon any visionary speculations of imaginative minds, but is the natural result of a dispassionate examination of the present and past history of the Slavonic race. No other race has suffered more from foreign oppression and internal dissensions ; and yet, instead of being annihilated and absorbed by

an additional illustration of what I have stated in the text : —It is well known that in 1846 a number of misguided peasantry, allured by the pillage of the landowners' property, murdered many of them, with their families, in Galicia, and that the Austrian authorities not only allowed, but in many cases rewarded, these atrocious actions, from fear of a silly conspiracy amongst some few hot-headed individuals, and in order to effect a breach between the landowners and the peasantry. It was natural that such abominable policy should have produced many informers, who, under pretence of their attachment to the existing Government, accused their landowners of treason and disaffection towards the sovereign. It happened once that a peasant accused his landlord before the Austrian magistrate of having abused the emperor in the most violent manner. When asked by the magistrate what word of abuse it was, the peasant, wishing to bring the strongest possible case against his landlord, replied, " O, Sir, he has made use of the most horrible expressions against the emperor ; he even called him a German." *Naturam furca expelles, tamen recurrit.*

other nations, as is nearly the case with the once powerful Celts, the Slavonians form now the most numerous population of Europe, occupy the largest portion of its territory, and are more strongly than ever animated by a feeling which may be, I think, more properly called *nationalism* than *patriotism*. Is it possible to admit that Providence, which does nothing in vain, should have produced such a moral wonder as that which is presented by the history of the Slavonic race, and which, I believe, has no parallel in the annals of the world, without an adequate object? and is it not much more natural to suppose, that a race whose physical and moral existence has been so marvellously preserved, is destined to accomplish a great mission? This idea is becoming the universal belief of all the Slavonians, who, however they may differ on other subjects, agree on this point; and is it necessary to add, that a strong faith in the accomplishment of a great object is the surest pledge of its ultimate success? The author of this essay freely confesses himself to be as strong a believer as any other Slavonian in the future greatness of his race; but he fondly hopes and fervently prays that it may be founded upon the moral and intellectual development of all its branches, and that their union into one great whole may be finally accomplished on the principles of pure religion and rational liberty, and not be a mere combination of brute forces, cemented by the common animosities against a foreign race, and political ambition, tending towards the conquest and oppression of other nations.

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In a work which I published about ten years ago, I attempted to give a detailed account of the rise, progress, and decline of the Reformation in Poland, and of the influence which it had upon the general condition of that country. The substance of this will be found in the Third and Fourth Lectures, with the addition of some important facts which came into my possession after the publication of the work alluded to, and to which I must refer my readers for many important details, which were omitted here for want of space. The account of the ancient Slavonians, contained in the First Lecture, is extracted from the manuscript of a work on the history and the political and intellectual condition of the Slavonic nations, at which I have been labouring for some time, though I don't know whether circumstances will ever permit me to publish it. For the history of the Hussites I have made use, besides the well-known work of Lenfant on that subject, of Theobald, Cochleus, Eneas Sylvius, Hagec, and Balbinus ; but I am particularly indebted to Peltzel, whom I have chiefly followed in my account of Bohemia. My principal sources for the Fifth Lecture were Karamsine ; an account of the Raskolnics by a Russian priest, which contains much curious matter, although written without any critique ; Strahl, Haxthausen, Tourgheneff, Mickiewicz's Lectures on the Slavonic literature, delivered at the College de France ; and also the information which I had derived from personal communications of several individuals in Poland and in Russia. I have delivered these lectures at Cambridge, Durham, and in

this city (Edinburgh) ; but being necessarily restricted to time in their oral delivery, I could give only their outline, so that their contents have been now at least trebled.

It was my painful duty, in relating the religious history of Bohemia and of my own country, to pass more than once a severe condemnation, not only on the unprincipled machinations by which the Jesuits and other adherents of Rome have destroyed the cause of the Reformation in the two above-mentioned countries, but also on the Protestants themselves, whose supineness, mutual jealousies, quarrels, and even treachery, have proved still more fatal to their cause than the attacks of their enemies. Opposed, as I am, to the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, I must solemnly disclaim every hostile and unkind feeling towards its followers, amongst whom I have many dear friends and relatives. Although I was born and bred in the Reformed Church of Poland, a great part of my family are Roman Catholics ; and, owing to this circumstance, united with some others, I have associated in my country much more with Roman Catholics than with Protestants ; and I positively declare that I have never received from them the slightest act of unkindness on account of my religious persuasion. I now repeat this statement, which I have already made in the preface of my *History of the Reformation in Poland* ; and I have the gratification to add, that the publication of the work alluded to has, notwithstanding its decided Protestant tendency, not injured in the least the feel-

ings entertained towards myself by my Roman Catholic friends and relatives, but that, on the contrary, though the religious opinions of many of them are diametrically opposed to my own, they have rendered entire justice to the sincerity of my convictions.

I shall consider myself fortunate indeed, if this imperfect attempt of mine to delineate the religious history of the Slavonic nations shall give my English readers additional motives to bless Providence, and feel more grateful, for the invaluable boon which it has conferred upon the British nation, by the spread of the knowledge of the Word of God ; and if it serves to draw the attention of the British Protestants to a subject the importance of which is daily growing, and which the religious as well as the political interests of their country demand should be no longer passed unheeded.

EDINBURGH, November 29, 1849,

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LECTURE FIRST.

• SLAVONIANS.

It has been observed by an eminent writer of Germany (Herder), that “the Slavonic nations occupy a much larger space on the earth than they do in history ;” and the principal cause of it is assigned, by the same author, to the remote distance from the Roman empire of the lands which they originally inhabited. Yet, although they became known to the writers of Byzantium and western Europe, under the name of Slavonians, only in the sixth century,* their exist-

* The authors who wrote on the Slavonians during the sixth century are, Procopius, Jornandes, Agathias, the Emperor Mauritius, John of Biclar, and Menander. They call them Sclaveni, Sclavi, which are corruptions, made by the Byzantines, of the name of Slavi or Slaveni, used by the natives, as well as by the German writers who had been in contact with the Slavonians of the Baltic, as, for instance, Adam of Bremen, Helmold, &c. The etymon of the name *Slavonian* has been explained in different ways. Many deduce it from the word *Slava*, signifying *glory* in all the Slavonic dialects ; and this opinion is supported by the

ence was not unknown to the father of history ; and there can be no doubt that the Callipedæ and Halisones, the Scythian husbandmen, &c.

circumstance that a great number of Slavonic names are unquestionably derived from that word ; as, for instance, Stanislav (Stanislaus), establisher of glory ; Premislav, sense of glory ; Vladislav, ruler of glory, &c. Other etymologists deduce the origin of the same name from *Sloro*, signifying, in all the Slavonic dialects, *word*, because the name of Slavonians is spelt in their different dialects by *a* and by *o*, namely, Slavanie and Slovianie. These etymologists support their opinions by the remarkable circumstance, that the appellation of Niemietz, *i. e.* *mute*, is given to the Germans by all the Slavonic nations ; and they suppose that the Slavonians, being unable to understand foreigners, considered their language as inarticulate, and called them, on that account, *niem*, or *mute* ; whilst, considering themselves as exclusively possessing the gift of the word (at least intelligible to them), they called themselves *Slowianie*, *i. e.* men endowed with the gift of the word. Whatever may be the real etymon of the name of the Slavonians, there can be no doubt that the appellation of Slaves, Sclaven, Esclaves, Schiavi, &c. has been derived from the great number of the Slavonians of the Baltic whom their German conquerors sold in the markets, or, reduced to a severe bondage on their native soil,—a circumstance which goes far in explaining the national antipathies between the Slavonic and German races ; and which, it is most melancholy to say, have been recently, on several occasions, renewed with an animosity worthy of the darkest ages. It must be also remarked, that all the western writers call the Slavonians not only Sclavini, Sclavi, but also Vinidæ, Venedi, and Wends ; which latter appellation was given by the Germans to the Slavonians of the Baltic, and is now applied to those of Lusatia and Saxony, but who call themselves Syrbs. It is impossible to ascertain the origin of this appellation, given to the Slavonians by the Germans as well as by the Fins and Lettonians, but unknown to themselves ; and all the conjectures which have been formed on this subject have not produced any satisfactory result. I may only remark, that it is by no means a singular case,

mentioned by Herodotus in the Melpomene, were Slavonians, who, considering their immense numbers, must be an autochthonic nation of Europe, as much as the Greeks, Latins, Celts, and Germans, and did not arrive in this part of the world at the time of the Huns, Goths, &c. as several authors had supposed. Pliny, Tacitus, and Ptolemy, mention the Slavonians under the name of Vinidæ, Serbi, Stavani, &c.; but they became generally known to western and southern Europe, when, issuing from their original seats, eastward of the Vistula, and northward of the Carpathian Mountains, they began gradually to spread to the south and west. The causes of this extraordinary emigration are unknown, but supposed to be over-population, and the pressure of foreign nations from the east and the north. Be it as it may, this emigration was entirely different from that of the Teutonic nations who conquered the south-western provinces of the Roman empire, and the invasions of the Asiatic hordes, as, for instance, the Huns, Avars, and, at a later period, Mongols and Tartars. It was not a devastating, but a colonizing and peaceful invasion; and the German writer Herder, whom I have already quoted at the be-

and that there are many instances of nations receiving from foreigners names entirely different from those which they apply to themselves. Thus, for instance, the Germans call themselves *Deutsche*, are called by the French *Allémands*, by the English, from the ancient Roman, *Germans*, and by the Slavonians, as well as by the eastern nations, *Niemtzi*. The Fins, who receive this name from the western Europeans, call themselves *Suomi* or *Suomalaiset*, and are called by the Slavonians *Choody*.

ginning of this lecture, gives the following graphic sketch of this most important episode of the history of mankind :—

“ We meet with them [the Slavonians] for the first time on the Don, among the Goths ; and afterwards on the Danube, amidst the Huns and the Bulgarians. They often greatly disturbed the Roman empire, in conjunction with the above-mentioned nations, chiefly as their associates, auxiliaries, and vassals. Notwithstanding their occasional achievements, they never were, like the Germans, a nation of enterprising warriors and adventurers. On the contrary, they followed, for the most part, the Teutonic nations, quietly occupying the lands which the latter had evacuated, till at length they came into possession of the vast territory which extends from the Don to the Elbe, and from the Adriatic Sea to the Baltic. On this side [the northern] of the Carpathian Mountains their settlements extended from Lunebourg, over Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Brandenburg, Saxony, Lusatia, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Poland, and Russia ; beyond these mountains, where already, at an early period, they were settled in Moldavia and Wallachia, they continued spreading further and further, until the Emperor Heraclius admitted them into Dalmatia. The kingdoms of Slavonia, Bosnia, Servia, and Dalmatia, were gradually formed by them ; they were equally numerous in Pannonia ; they extended from Friuli over the south-eastern corner of Germany ; so that the territory in their possession ended with Illyria, Carinthia,

and Carniolia. In short, the lands occupied by them form the most extensive region of Europe which even now is inhabited mostly by one nation. They settled everywhere on lands which other nations had relinquished, enjoying and cultivating them as husbandmen and shepherds; so that their peaceful and industrious occupancy was a great advantage to the countries which had been laid waste by the emigration of their former inhabitants, as well as by the ravaging passages of foreign nations. They were fond of agriculture and of various domestic arts; they amassed stores of corn, and reared herds of cattle; and they opened everywhere a useful trade with the produce of their land and of their industry. They built along the shores of the Baltic, beginning with Lubeck, several sea-port towns, among which Vineta, situated on the island of Rugen,* was the Slavonic Amsterdam; and they maintained an intercourse with the Prussians and Lettonians, as is attested by the language of these nations. They built Kioff on the Dnieper, and Novgorod on the Wolkhow, which both became flourishing emporiums, uniting the trade of the Black Sea with the Baltic, and conveying the productions of the east to the north and west of Europe. In Germany they exercised mining; they understood the melting and casting of metals; they prepared salt, manufactured linen cloths, brewed mead, planted fruit-trees, and led, ac-

* This is a mistake: Vineta or Julin was situated at the mouth of the river Oder, and not on the island of Rugen.

according to their custom, a joyous, musical life. They were charitable and hospitable to prodigality, fond of freedom, yet submissive and obedient, enemies of robbery and plunder. All this, however, did not help them against oppression; nay, it even contributed to bring it upon them. Because, as they never strove for the dominion of the world, never had warlike hereditary princes amongst them, and willingly paid tribute for the mere privilege of inhabiting their own country in peace, they were deeply wronged by other nations, but chiefly by those of the Germanic race."

Commercial advantages were the evident cause of those aggressive wars upon the Slavonians, begun under Charlemagne,* although the Christian religion was used as a pretence; because it was certainly more convenient for the heroic Franks to treat as slaves an industrious nation, which pursued agriculture and commerce, than themselves to learn and practise those arts. What the Franks had begun was completed by the Saxons. The Slavonians were either exterminated or reduced to bondage by whole provinces, and their lands were divided amongst bishops and nobles. Their commerce on the Baltic was destroyed by the northern Germans; Vineta came to a melancholy end through the Danes; and their remnants in Germany are in a state resembling that to which the Spaniards reduced the Peruvians. Is it therefore a miracle that, after

* Spoil and rapine would be a more appropriate term.

centuries of subjection and the deepest exasperation of that people against their Christian masters and robbers, their mild character should have degenerated into a cruel, cunning, slavish indolence? And yet their ancient character is everywhere distinguishable, and particularly wherever they enjoy some degree of liberty.* (*Ideen zur Philosophie der Menschheit*, vol. iv. chap. 4.)

* The regrets which the noble-minded Herder expressed, nearly eighty years ago, about the degradation of the national character of the Slavonians who remain still in Germany, i. e. the Wends of Lusatia, were either founded upon incorrect data, furnished from an invidious and hostile quarter, or this unfortunate state of things has disappeared altogether by the progress of civilization, that has removed the oppression which weighed over these remnants of the Slavonic race in Germany. This is evident from the following sketch of this population, given by a modern German writer :—" They [the Wends] are a lively, strong, and laborious people, engaged in agricultural pursuits and fishery. Their religious disposition is manifested by their diligent attendance at church, and by frequently uttered wishes and expressions of a pious nature, as well as by their rectitude and commendable manners. Their honesty, hospitality, and sociability, are generally acknowledged ; and so is their frugality, cleanliness, conjugal fidelity, and many other praiseworthy qualities. They are, moreover, peaceful ; and although, like many other Slavonic nations, they have no military spirit, they are bold in the defence of their homes ; and their recruits, when properly drilled, have earned on many and many occasions the reputation of valiant soldiers. Even under the hard pressure of predial bondage, the Wends have retained their harmless cheerfulness and mirth, which they possess in common with many other Slavonic nations, and their sober, contented mind, which is manifested in their very numerous joyful national songs. And, indeed, merry tunes resound in their towns and on their fields, when they are at work, or enjoying a social circle. They are

The oppression which was exercised by the Germans against the Slavonians of the Baltic, surpasses by far all that this devoted race had to suffer in the south from the Turks, and in the east from the Mongols. And, indeed, the conduct of these infidel nations towards the conquered Slavonians was humanity itself, when compared to that which was followed towards the same Slavonians by the baptized (for I cannot call them Christian) Germans. The Mongols, who conquered the north-eastern principalities of Russia, under the descendants of the terrible Genghis Khan, and

equally fond of dancing. It frequently happens to this day, that milk-maids sing for wagers, and that shepherds play on horns and bagpipes their national songs. These airs are generally of an erotic description : they sometimes express complaints about the loss or infidelity of the beloved one. Many of them have an elegiac character, and are full of enthusiastic and imaginative thoughts on the beauty of nature, the instability of earthly things, and the destiny of man, with a strong belief in the marvellous." (*Blicke in die Vaterländische, Vorzeit von Karl Preusker*. Leipsic, 1843, vol ii. page 179.)

This little population, which has still preserved its Slavonic nationality, and is not yet Germanized, although living in the midst of a Teutonic population, amounts to about 144,000, of whom 60,000 live under the Saxon, and the remainder under the Prussian dominion ; about 10,000 belong to the Roman Catholic Church, and the rest to the Lutheran confession. Notwithstanding their very small number, they have a national literature, consisting, besides the Bible and several devotional works, of collections of national songs, traditions, tales, &c. &c., as well as of some modern productions. They have a literary society for the promotion of the national language and literature, and which is chiefly composed of Protestant and Roman Catholic clergymen.

who are always quoted as the acme of all that is savage and barbarous, not only left to the conquered Christians full religious liberty, but they exempted all their clergy, with their families, from the capitation-tax imposed upon the rest of the inhabitants. Neither did they deprive them of their lands, or bid them forget their national language, manners, and customs. The Mahomedan Osmanlis left to the conquered Bulgarians and Servians their faith, their property, and their local municipal institutions; whilst the Christian German princes and bishops divided amongst themselves the lands of the Slavonians, who were either exterminated or reduced to bondage by whole provinces.* The Turks admitted the Slavonians who had been forced or seduced to the adoption of Islamism (those of Bosnia), to all the rights and privileges of their nation, and many of them occupied the highest dignities of the Ottoman Porte, and even that of the Vizier; but the Germans extended their persecution even to the Christian descendants of their victims. They were reduced to bondage, not permitted to remain in towns or villages inhabited by German colonists settled upon lands taken from them, and excluded from guilds or corporations of trades. There was a law at Hamburg, requiring that any person who wished to become a burgher of that town should prove that he was not of Slavonic descent; and there are many official documents which prove that the persecutions of

* Herder, as quoted above.

the Slavonians by their German conquerors continued long after the final subjugation and conversion of that devoted race.* A German writer relates, that a considerable time after the establishment of the Christian religion, whenever a Slavonian was met on the high road, and could not give what was considered a satisfactory reason for his absenting himself from his village, he was executed on the spot, or killed like a wild beast.† It is therefore no wonder that the Slavonic language, which extended westwards as far as the river Eyder, and southwards beyond the banks of the Saale, has finally disappeared, those who spoke it being either exterminated, or entirely denationalized and converted into Germans.‡

* Thus, for instance, Meinhard, Bishop of Halberstadt, ordered, in 1248, that the Slavonic inhabitants of several places belonging to the convent of Bistorf should, in case they would not consent to abandon some of what he calls their pagan customs, be expelled, and replaced by German good Catholics. The Bishop of Breslau ordered, in 1495, that all the Polish peasants of a place called Woitz should in two years learn German, or be expelled.

† *Gebhardi Geschichte der Wenden*, p. 260. This author is by no means partial to the Slavonians; and his statement is made on the evidence of another German writer contemporary with these events,—Helmold, *Chronicon Slavorum*.

‡ The Slavonians, who had been compelled outwardly to conform to the rites of Christianity for about seventy years, made a successful insurrection against their oppressors in 1068, the year of the Norman conquest of England; destroyed all the churches and convents, sacrificed the Bishop of Mecklenburg to their gods at Lubeck, and expelled the Germans and Danes from their country. Crooko, prince of the island Rugen, whom they called to

In relating this murder of one nation by another, I have not had to follow any accusations uttered by the injured party. The wail of the victim was lost in the lapse of ages ; and the Slavonians of the Baltic had not, as the Mexicans, an Ixtlilxochilt, and the Peruvians a Garcilasso della Vega, to denounce to posterity the wrongs of their nation. It was from among the oppressors themselves that a testimony came against the evil deeds of their country-

their throne, conquered Holstein, and retained it at the peace which the Danes and Germans were obliged to conclude with him. The Slavonians restored their national idolatry, and enjoyed an uninterrupted peace for about forty years ; but in the beginning of the twelfth century, Crooko was murdered, and the Germans and Danes recommenced their attacks upon the Slavonians, who maintained the unequal contest till 1168. In that year their sovereign Pribislav received baptism, was created a prince of the German empire ; and his descendants continue in the princely house of Mecklenburg, the only Slavonic dynasty now extant. The island of Rugen, the last stronghold of Slavonic independence and idolatry, was conquered and converted in the following year, 1169, by Waldemar the First, King of Denmark. The Slavonic language lingered in the neighbourhood of Leipsic till the end of the fourteenth century ; and the last man who spoke that language in Pomerania is said to have died in 1404. Divine service in the same language was performed at a place called Wustrow, in the duchy of Luneburg, kingdom of Hanover, as late as the middle of the last, *i. e.* eighteenth century. The inhabitants of the district of Luchow, situated in the same duchy of Luneburg, and commonly called Wendland, *i. e.* the country of the Wends or Slavonians, speak even now a peculiar dialect of the German, intermingled with many Slavonic words. The only Slavonians in Germany who have retained their nationality are the Wends of Lusatia, of whom I have already spoken, (*vide* p. 7, note.)

men ; and, be it said to the honour of humanity, there were found amongst the Germans virtuous men and real priests of Christ, who courageously raised their voice against the unchristian and inhuman conduct of their own princes and nobles, who, under the pretence of converting the Slavonic idolaters to the Christian religion, inflicted upon them a worse than pagan oppression.

It may be said, perhaps, Of what use is it to renew the memory of ancient wrongs, which ought to be buried in the oblivion of the dark ages ? No doubt of it ; but, unfortunately, far from this being the case, the contrary has been taking place for several years in the intellectual struggle which is going on between the Slavonic and German writers, who, in their polemical discussions, lay much stress upon the history of their mutual relations. But, what is more lamentable, the national animosities between the two races have not remained confined to the writings of historical students, but have been fostered up by pamphlets and newspapers, and have even led to actual collisions, as, for instance, in Posen and Prague. This unfortunate feeling is developing itself with great intensity ; and it is much to be feared that it may be productive of bitter fruits, not only to the said hostile races, but to humanity at large. I therefore think that it is by no means right to gloss over an evil which is a fact, but that it should be rather exposed before the tribunal of the public opinion of Europe, which may perhaps devise some effective

means of obviating, ere it be too late, the otherwise unavoidable consequences of this deplorable state of things. It is, moreover, impossible to obtain a clear understanding of the effects of religious doctrines upon the national character of the Slavonians, and the causes of the success and failure which the propagation of these doctrines met with amongst the same nation. I am particularly anxious that the British Protestants should acquire a thorough knowledge of the causes and effects to which I have alluded, because this alone will enable them to form a correct judgment, not only of the religious history of the Slavonians, but of the religious movement which undoubtedly will follow the political one which now agitates the same nation with an increasing force.

But before I shall describe the conversion of the Slavonic nations to the religion of the gospel, I must give a short sketch of their idolatry, as well as their manners, customs, and state of civilization during their paganism, because the social and moral condition of a people has always a great influence upon its religious revolutions.

“The Slavonians,” says Procopius,* “worship one God, the maker of the thunder, whom they acknowledge the only Lord of the universe, and to whom they offer cattle and different kinds of victims. They do not believe in fate, or that it has any power over mortals. When-

* De Bello Gothico.

ever they are in danger of death, either from illness or from the enemy, they make vows to God to offer sacrifices if they should be saved. When the peril is over, they fulfil their vows, and believe that it was this which saved them. They also worship rivers, nymphs, and some other deities, to whom they offer sacrifices, making divinations at the same time." This description of the Slavonic religion coincides with Nestor's account of it, who says, that the chief Slavonic deity worshipped at Kioff, Novgorod, and other places, was Perun, *i. e.* thunder, whose idol was made of wood, with a head of silver, and golden whiskers. The same author mentions also the names of other deities, but without describing their attributes.* The account which is given by the Bohemian and Polish chroniclers of the ancient deities of their countries is very unsatisfactory. It was collected from tradition, long after the extinction of national idolatry; and their attempts to identify it with the mythology of Greece and Rome create the suspicion that their own imagination had often supplied the want of real information on the subject. The only deities which are undoubtedly known to have been worshipped in the aboriginal Slavonic countries, *i. e.* Poland and Russia, are those, the memory of which still partly lives in the popular songs, amusements, and superstitions of these coun-

* Nestor, a monk of Kioff, is the most ancient of Slavonic historians, having lived in the second part of the eleventh century.

tries. The principal of these are, *Lada*, supposed to have been the goddess of love and pleasure;* *Kupala*, god of the fruits of the earth; and *Koleda*, god of festivals. The name of *Lada* is still repeated in several parts of Russia, in songs and dances which are customary only at certain seasons of the year. *Kupala*, whose festival was solemnized on the 23d June by lighting large fires, round which people danced, may be said to have survived the extinction of the national idolatry, because its worship continues in some measure amongst the peasantry of several parts of Poland and Russia. The village youths dance round lighted fires on the eve of St John the Baptist (23d June), who is called by them *John Kupala*.† The festival of *Koleda* was observed on the 24th December; and it is remarkable, that in Poland and some parts of Russia this appellation is used for Christmas, as well as for several customs observed upon that day.

The vestiges of the worship of nymphs, rivers, &c., observed by Procopius, may be still traced in our days. The belief in fairies and other imaginary beings, inhabiting the woods, the water, and the air, still lingers among the peasantry of many Slavonic countries, and is preserved in a great number of popular tales, songs, and superstitious observances. All these

* *Lad* signifies in the Slavonic languages, *order*, *tact*, and is the root of several words.

† It must be remarked, that St John's eve is celebrated in many countries by lighting bonfires, which have probably a reference to the summer solstice.

remnants of the Slavonic mythology have been of late carefully collected ; and considerable light was thrown upon this subject by the labours of several Slavonic scholars. The only positive information, however, which we possess on the above-mentioned subject is that which is contained in the accounts of the Baltic Slavonians, given by contemporary authors, who lived in their vicinity, and of whom many were eye-witnesses of what they described. Even the very objects worshipped by those Slavonians have been by a lucky accident preserved to our times.* I shall therefore give, on these authorities, some details of the Slavonic idolatry,

* A most valuable collection of Slavonic antiquities was found towards the end of the seventeenth century, in digging the ground at the village of Prillwitz, situated on the Lake Tollenz, in the duchy of Mecklenburg, and which is supposed to occupy the place where Rhetra, a celebrated Slavonic temple, formerly stood. It remained, however, unknown to the learned world until 1771, when a description of it, accompanied by engravings, was published by Dr Mash, chaplain of the Duke of Mecklenburg. These antiquities were found in two metal vessels, supposed to have been employed for sacrifices, and which were so placed, that one served as a cover to the other. They had engraved upon them several inscriptions ; but, unfortunately, they were both melted down for the casting of a bell, before they had been examined by any person competent to judge of the inscriptions. These vessels contained idols, and several objects employed in the performance of the sacrifices. All these objects are cast from a mixture of various metals, but not always of the same kind, because many of them have a considerable portion of silver in their composition, while others have none. Several of them have Slavonic inscriptions in Runic characters, but the most part of them are in a very mutilated condition.

which may be considered as real. The most celebrated deity of the Baltic Slavonians was *Sviantovit*, or *Sviantovid*,* whose fane and idol were at Arkona, the capital of the island Rugen. This last stronghold of Slavonic idolatry was taken and destroyed in 1168, by Waldemar the First, king of Denmark. The contemporary Danish historian, Saxo Grammaticus, who was very likely present at that expedition,† gives the following account of *Sviantovit* and his worship :—

“ In the midst of the town was a level place, upon which stood the temple, beautifully constructed of wood. It was held in great veneration, not only for its magnificence, but also on account of the sanctity of the idol which it contained. The interior wall of the edifice was of exquisite workmanship, and was painted with the figures of different things, executed in a rude and imperfect manner. It had only one entrance. The temple itself was composed of two inclosures. The exterior consisted of a wall, covered with a roof painted red ; but the interior, supported by four posts, had, instead of walls, hangings of tapestry ; and it had, in common with the exterior part, the same roof, and a few beams. The idol which stood in that edifice was much larger than the natural size of

* The first of these names signifies in Slavonic, *holy warrior* or *conqueror* ; the second, *holy sight*. It will be seen from the description of the idol, that both these explanations may be adopted with equal justice.

† He was secretary to Absalon, Archbishop of Lund, who commanded that expedition under the king

man. It had four heads and as many necks ; two chests and two backs, of which one was turned to the right, and the other to the left. The beards were carefully combed, and the hair closely shorn. He held in his right hand a horn, made of different kinds of metals, which was filled once every year with wine,* by the priest who performed his worship. His left arm was bent on his side, in the form of a bow. His garment reached to the legs, which were of various kinds of wood, joined together with so much art, that it was impossible to perceive it, except on a close examination. His feet stood on the earth, with their soles fixed in it. Not far from the idol were disposed his sword, his bridle, and other articles belonging to him, amongst which shone prominently his sword, of a very large size, with a silver hilt and scabbard of beautiful workmanship. His solemn worship was performed in the following manner :—Once a year, after harvest, the population of the island assembled before the temple of the idol, where, after having sacrificed cattle, they held a solemn repast, as a religious observance. The priest, who, contrary to the fashion of the country, was conspicuous by the length of his hair and beard, swept, previously to the beginning of the ceremony, the interior of the fane, to which he alone had access. In performing this task, he carefully held his breath, lest the presence of the divinity might be polluted by the contamination of mortal

* Perhaps with mead, the national Slavonic beverage.

breath. Therefore, every time when he wanted to respire, he was obliged to go out of the temple. On the following day, he brought before the people assembled before the gate of the temple, the horn taken from the hand of the idol, and augured, from the state of its contents, the prospects of the next year. If the quantity of the liquor had decreased, he predicted scarcity, but if it had not, abundance. This he announced to the people, bidding them to be sparing or profuse of their stores accordingly. He then poured forth the old liquor, by way of libation, at the feet of the idol; refilled the horn with new wine; and, having addressed to the idol prayers for himself, for the welfare of the country and its inhabitants, for increase of goods, and for victory over the enemy, he emptied the horn at a single draught. He then filled it again, and replaced it in the right hand of the idol. A large cake of a round form, made with honey, was also offered in sacrifice. The priest placed this cake between himself and the people, and asked them whether they could see him or not? If they answered in the affirmative, he exhorted them to provide for the next year a cake which should entirely conceal him from their sight. He finally blessed the people in the name of the idol, and exhorted them to be diligent in his worship by frequent sacrifices, promising them, as a sure reward of their zeal, victory over their enemies by land and by sea. The rest of the day was spent in feasting, and all the offerings consecrated to the deity were consumed by the assembled

crowd. At that feast intemperance was considered as an act of piety,—sobriety a sin. Every man and woman in the country paid annually a piece of money for the support of the idol's worship. A third of the spoils obtained over the enemy was given to the idol, as success was ascribed to his assistance. The same idol had three hundred horses, and as many soldiers, who made war on his account, and who delivered all the booty which they had obtained to the custody of the priest. He employed that booty in preparing different kinds of ornaments for the temple, which he locked up in secret store-rooms, where an immense quantity of money, and of costly raiment rotten from length of time, was heaped. There was also an immense number of votive offerings, by those who sought to obtain favours from this deity. Not only did the whole of Slavonia* offer money to this idol, but even the neighbouring kings were sending him gifts, without regard to the sacrilege they were thereby committing. Thus, amongst others, Sven,† king of Denmark, sent to this idol, in order to propitiate his favour, a cup of exquisite workmanship; thus preferring a strange religion to his own. He was afterwards, however, punished for this sacrilege, by an unfortunate violent death. The same deity had other fanes in different places, direct-

* Slavonia was by German chroniclers usually understood to mean the country of the Baltic Slavonians.

† According to Dahlman's *History of Denmark*, this relates to Swen-Grate, who was murdered in 1157, and not to the father of Canute the Great, as is generally supposed.

ed by priests of equal dignity but lesser power. He had also a white horse specially belonging to him, from whose tail and mane it was considered sinful to pull a hair, and which only the priest was allowed to feed and to bestride. On this horse's back, Sviantovit (which was the name of the idol) combated, according to the belief of the Rugians, against the enemies of their creed. This belief was chiefly supported by the argument that the horse was frequently found on a morning in his stable, covered with sweat and mud, as if he had endured much exercise, and travelled far in the night. Futurity was investigated by means of this horse, and in the following manner:—When it was intended to make war on any country, a number of spears were laid down in three rows before the temple, over which, after the observance of solemn prayers, the priest led the horse. If, in passing over these spears, he began by lifting his right foot, the omen was fortunate; but if he did it with the left, or with both feet together, it was a bad sign, and the project was abandoned."

Sviantovit had, according to the same authority, a standard consecrated to him, which gave to those who followed it the privilege to do what they would. They might pillage with impunity, even to the temples of the gods; and might commit every kind of outrage, without its being accounted them for sin.

This celebrated idol was broken to pieces, and used as fuel on the kitchen fire, by order of Waldemar, king of Denmark, who had conquer-

ed Rugen,—a circumstance which greatly contributed to destroy the belief in his divinity.

I have given the particulars of this account, by a contemporary writer, of the most celebrated Slavonic fane, as being authentic, and conveying a vivid idea of the Slavonic idolatry, which continued its existence on the shores of the Baltic nearly three centuries after the conversion of other nations belonging to the Slavonic race. Other accounts of the same idolatry have been given by different German writers, who lived in the vicinity of the Baltic Slavonians, and some of whom had a personal knowledge of them. My limits permit me not, however, to enter here upon any detailed description of this subject; and I shall conclude it with the following extract from Helmold, a German clergyman of Holstein, who had much personal intercourse with the unconverted Slavonians:—

“The Slavonians,” says he, “have many different idolatries, and they do not agree in their superstitious rites. Some of them have in their temples idols of an imaginary form, as, for instance, the idol at Plunen (Plön, in Holstein), called *Podaga*. Many gods are believed to inhabit the woods, and have no images to represent their figures; whilst others are represented with three or more heads. But in the midst of so many deities, to which they ascribe the protection of their fields and woods, and even the power of dispensing pain or pleasure, they confess that there is a God in heaven commanding all the others, but having the care only of heavenly things. They say that all other gods

issued from his blood ; and that some of them are superior to others, in the same degree as they are nearer to the great God who gives them their different employments.* This Slavonic theogony resembles that of Greece, as the gods and demigods of both issued from the Supreme Divinity, and obeyed his commands. This, however, is not the place to investigate the connection of the Slavonic with the classical and Indian mythology ; and I must now pass to the description of the moral state of the race whose creed that mythology constituted.

The universal testimony of the authors who have observed the Slavonians on the banks of the Danube, and on the shores of the Baltic, is very favourable to their national character. " Their disposition is neither malicious nor fraudulent," says Procopius ; and the Emperor Mauritius relates that they did not, like other nations, retain their prisoners in perpetual bondage, but permitted them, after a certain definite time, either to return to their own country upon the payment of a ransom, or to remain amongst them as freemen and friends.† The most eminent virtue of the Slavonians, in which they excelled all nations, was hospitality. The Emperors Mauritius and Leo the Philosopher‡ relate that the Slavonians not only received travellers with the greatest kindness, but conducted them on their way to other

* *Chronicon Slavorum*, lib. i. cap. xxxiii.

† *Strategicum*, lib. xi. cap. viii.

‡ *Strategicum*, loco citato, and Leonis Imperatori *Tactica*, cap. xviii. sec. 102, 103.

places, provided for all their wants, and safely delivered them to other countrymen of theirs, who became responsible for the safety of the stranger, to the person who had brought him. If any evil befell the stranger through the carelessness of his host, he was punished by his neighbours, or by those who had brought the guest to his house. The hospitality observed by the Byzantines amongst the southern Slavonians was in equal veneration amongst those of the Baltic. Adam of Bremen says, that no nation excelled them in manners, hospitality, and kindness.* Helmold, who had visited them himself, in company with the bishop of Oldenburg, at a time when they were greatly exasperated against their Christian neighbours, says that he learnt then by experience, what he had long before known by report, that no nation excelled the Slavonians in hospitality, and that should any one of them, which happens very rarely, be convinced of having sent away a stranger, or refused him hospitality, it was permitted to burn his home and his property, and he was unanimously called infamous, villain, and deserving to be rejected by every one. The biographer of Saint Otho says, that the Pomeranians always had their tables covered with all such kinds of meat and drink as the master of the house could afford, and that inmates and strangers partook of them at any time of the day.† The same writer gives the following ac-

* *Moribus et hospitalitate nulla gens honestior ac benignior potest inveniri. (Historia Ecclesiastica, lib. ii. cap. xii.)*

† *Vita St Othonis, cap. lx.*

count of the honesty of the Slavonians :—" Such is the confidence amongst them," says he, " that they are perfectly free from thieving and fraud, insomuch that their chests and boxes are never locked. They had never seen locks or keys, and were much astonished when they beheld the chests and trunks of the bishop locked. They keep all their clothes, money, and costly things in tubs and casks, simply covered, without fear of any fraud, as they never have experienced it." But the most remarkable circumstance related by this author about the Slavonians of Pomerania is, that they objected to Christianity on account of the immorality, but particularly thieving and robbing, which were prevalent amongst the Christians, and the cruelties which they committed upon one another.*

The chastity and conjugal fidelity of the Slavonic women are extolled by the Byzantines, as well as by the western writers. The Emperor Mauritius says, that the Slavonic women were such devoted wives, that many of them committed suicide when their husbands died.† St Boni-

* At illi (Pomerani) inquit, nihil nobis ac vobis, patriæ leges non dimittimus ; contenti sumus religione quam habemus. Apud Christianos, aiunt, fures sunt, latrones sunt ; cruciantur pedibus, privantur oculis, et omnia genera scelerum, Christiani exercent in Christianos : absit a nobis religio talis. (*Vita St Othonis*, cap. xxv. p. 673.)

† *Strategiæ*, lib. xi. cap. 8. The same is repeated by the Emperor Leo the Philosopher, in his *Tactica*, cap. xviii. sec. cv. This custom is considered by some writers as pointing to an Indian origin of the Slavonians.

facius, the Anglo-Saxon apostle of the Germans, says, in a letter addressed to his countryman Ethelbald, king of Mercia, who was accused of disorderly manners, that the Slavonians, whom he calls, on account of their idolatry, the worst nation, held conjugal fidelity in such reverence, that the wives committed suicide at the death of the husbands, and that those who acted in this manner were considered praiseworthy amongst them.* It seems that the Slavonic women were wont to share with their husbands, not only the hardships of the expedition, but even the dangers of the combat. When the Avars, in 626, made an unsuccessful attack upon Constantinople, a great number of Slavonians, who had fought in their van, were slain; and the Greeks found afterwards that there were a great number of women amongst the dead.† The strength of family ties and affections amongst the pagan Slavonians is thus described by Helmold, whom I have already several times quoted:—"Hospitality and care of parents are considered by the Slavonians as the first virtues. There cannot be found amongst them a poor man or a beggar, because, as soon as an individual becomes, either from debility or old age, unable to provide for himself, his relations take care of him with the greatest kindness."‡

* Letter of St Bonifacius, apud Szaffarik's *Slavonic Antiquities*.

† Stritter, vol. ii. page 72

‡ *Chronicon Slavorum*, cap. xii.

I have quoted the statement of Herder, that the Slavonians led "a joyous, musical life;"* and the following characteristic anecdote, reported by the Byzantine writers, proves how fond the Slavonians were of music, and what a peaceful nation they were, when left unmolested by their neighbours. "In 890, during the war with the Avars, the Greeks captured three foreigners, who had citherns instead of arms. The Emperor asked them who they were. 'We are Slavonians,' answered the foreigners, 'and we live in the remotest corner of the western ocean (the Baltic Sea). The Khan of the Avars sent presents to our chiefs, and demanded troops to fight against the Greeks. Our chiefs accepted the presents, but sent us to the Khan with the excuse that they could not give him assistance, on account of the great distance. We have been ourselves fifteen months on the road. The Khan, disregarding the sanctity of the ambassadorial character, permitted us not to return to our country. Having heard of the riches and kindness of the Greeks, we seized a favourable opportunity to fly into Thracia. We understand not the use of arms, and we only play the cithern. There is no iron in our country. Being unacquainted with war, and fond of music, we lead a peaceful and tranquil life.' The Emperor admired the peaceful character of these people, their tall stature, and strong make; he received them kindly,

* *Vide* page 6.

and furnished them with the means for returning to their country.”* This anecdote makes one inclined to believe, that the stories related by the ancients about the happy and innocent life of the Hyperboreans were not so entirely devoid of all foundation as it is generally supposed. I have already given the passage of Herder in which he describes the advanced state of commerce and industry amongst the Slavonians, and there is no need of repeating the various evidences of contemporary writers upon which he has founded his statement.

Such was the moral condition of a people whom the Germans either exterminated or reduced to bondage. It must not, however, be believed, that if the Slavonians were industrious, peaceful, and as inoffensive as the Peruvians, they were equally unwarlike. It is perfectly true, as Herder has observed, that “they willingly paid a tribute for the mere privilege of inhabiting their own country in peace.” They became, when pushed by circumstances into a war, terrible to their oppressors, displaying a courage and skill in fighting, as well as a power of enduring pain and hardship, which made them much more like the unconquerable Indians of North America than the submissive Peruvians. The Byzantine writers, who knew the Slavonians from personal observation, relate that they went into battle without shirt or cloak, wearing only short breeches to cover

* Stritter, *Memoria Populorum*, vol. ii. pages 53, 54.

their nakedness. They had no armour, but only spears, and some of them shields. They used bows, and small arrows poisoned with a very potent venom. They always combated on foot, and were very expert in fighting amongst defiles, woods, and in every place difficult of access. They displayed in such combats extraordinary skill, inveigling the enemy into ambuscades by simulated retreats. They were extraordinary divers, and could keep under water longer than any other people, receiving air by means of long reeds projecting out of the water. They were particularly skilful in surprising their enemies in individual encounters, of which a curious instance is related by Procopius. When Belisarius was besieging the town of Anxum, in Italy, he was very anxious to obtain a prisoner from amongst the Goths who occupied that place. Having in his army some Slavonians, who were accustomed in their own country on the Danube to seize prisoners by concealing themselves under stones and brushwood, he offered a considerable reward to one of them, if he would take a Goth alive. There was a place near the walls where the Goths used to cut grass. The Slavonian crept at an early hour amidst the high grass, and lay there concealed. A Goth came out of the town, and not foreseeing danger at hand, only observed the movements of the besiegers' camp, whence he looked to be assailed. The Slavonian suddenly started from his place of concealment, grasped the Goth from behind with such strength that he was unable to offer any re-

sistance, and carried him in that way to the camp.*

Another characteristic which the ancient Slavonians had, in common with the Indians of North America, was their fortitude in supporting the torments which their enemies inflicted upon them, in order to extort information as to the number, position, &c. of their army. They would die under the most excruciating torments without answering a question, and without uttering a word of complaint.†

The military prowess of the Slavonians was not, however, confined to individual feats, where dexterity was as much required as valour. This is sufficiently attested by their invasions of the Greek empire, by which they spread devastation from the Black to the Ionian Seas, and, having defeated the Greeks in several battles, but particularly near Adrianople in 551, penetrated to the gates of Thessalonica and of Constantinople. They were afterwards conquered for some time by the Asiatic nation of the Avars, and fought in the van of their conquerors with great valour, of which a remarkable instance was shown in the attack on Constantinople in 626, which was nearly captured

* *De Bello Gothico*, apud Stritter, vol. ii. page 31. The Emperor Mauritius gives a detailed description of the manner in which the Slavonians usually made war; and Sir Gardner Wilkinson has observed, that it closely resembles that which is pursued by the Montenegrines in our own days. *Vide his Dalmatia and Montenegro*, vol. i. page 35.

† Stritter, *Memorie Populorum*, vol. ii. page 89.

by the Slavonians.* The territory conquered by the Slavonians in the Greek empire, and inhabited even now by them, extends to the vicinity of Adrianople; and almost the whole of the Morea was for more than two centuries in their possession.† In the north they defended for three centuries their national independence and idolatry against Germany, Denmark, and occasionally their converted brethren of Poland.

I have given such a detailed account of the national character of the Slavonic race, which, notwithstanding the various modifications which it had received from the influence of time, form of government, religious creed, climate, and other local circumstances, remains unchanged

* I have related, p. 26, that many women were found amongst the Slavonians slain on that occasion. The Avars were called by the Greeks to conquer the Slavonians, but soon afterwards the same Slavonians became, under the dominion of the Avars, much more terrible to the Greeks than they had been before. An event which has much similarity to the above-mentioned one, took place nine centuries afterwards with the very same Slavonians, *i. e.* Serbians. They implored in vain the assistance of the western Christians, and particularly of the Emperor Sigismund, against the Turks; and having received none, were defeated, on the plains of Kossovopole by Sultan Bajazet, 1386, and obliged to submit to his dominion. Five years afterwards (1391,) they greatly contributed to the victory of the Turks over the same Emperor Sigismund at Nicopolis. I am anxious to direct the attention of thoughtful minds to this circumstance, because it is by no means impossible that the Slavonic populations, whose opposition to Russia has hitherto been the greatest impediment to her schemes of aggrandizement, may, having despaired of the assistance of western Europe, become the most powerful means for the execution of these schemes.

† *Vide* Appendix.

in all its essentials ; because it is only the knowledge of this character that can enable us to form a correct judgment of the causes which have influenced the political and religious history of the Slavonians, and of what Europe may hope and fear from the movement by which this race is now so powerfully agitated.

The mild and peaceful character of the Slavonic race rendered it particularly apt to receive the doctrine of the gospel ; and, indeed, the spread of Christianity amongst the Slavonians was very rapid, whenever it was preached to them in their own tongue, and by missionaries whose evangelical labours were not tainted by the self-seeking motives of worldly interest ; but Christianity was resisted unto death whenever it was made the tool for political ends, perverting the sublime precepts which the gospel inculcates, of meekness, patience, and forbearance, into the abject doctrines of unconditional submission to the abhorrent yoke of invading foreigners. This was unfortunately the case with the Slavonians of the Baltic, where their conversion by the Germans was almost synonymous with destruction. It has been pithily and truly described by Herder, whom I have already quoted, in these few words : “ The Slavonians were either exterminated or reduced to bondage by whole provinces, and their lands were divided amongst bishops and nobles.”*

* An animated picture of the oppression exercised by the Germans against the Slavonians was shown in a speech

The case was different with the southern Slavonians, to whom the gospel was preached in their own tongue, and where it was not degraded into a tool for acquiring riches and power.

addressed at Lubeck, by a Slavonic chief, to the bishop of Oldenburg, and reported by Helmold, who was present on that occasion, in the following manner :—"The bishop having exhorted the Slavonians, who had assembled to meet him in the above-mentioned town, to abandon their idols, to receive baptism, and to renounce their wicked works, and especially pillage and murder, Pribislav answered,—‘O, venerable prelate, your words are the words of God, and useful for our salvation ; but how can we follow the way which you are pointing out to us, when we are entangled in so many evils ? If you wish to know our afflictions, listen patiently to what I am going to say. The people whom you see are your people, and to you we shall discover our need, because it is for you to have compassion for us. But our princes oppress us with such severity, and impose upon us such tributes and servitude, that death is become more desirable to us than life. This very year, we, the inhabitants of this little corner, have paid to the duke one thousand marks, and a hundred to the count, and yet this is not sufficient, and we are squeezed unto exhaustion every day. How shall we then attend to this new religion ? How are we to build churches and receive baptism, when we may be forced every day to flee, if there were at least a place of refuge for us ? But if we cross the Travena [Trawe, in Holstein], the same calamities await us ; if we retire to the river Panis [Peene, in Pomerania] it is still the same. What, then, remains to us, except to leave the earth, to go to the sea, and to live upon the waves ? Is it then our fault if, expelled from our country, we disturb the sea, and levy on the Danes, or on the merchants who navigate it, our means of living ? Are not our princes answerable for this mischief to which they compel us ?’

“The bishop having represented that this persecution should cease if the Slavonians would become Christians, Pribislav rejoined,—‘If you desire that we embrace your

Christianity must have begun to spread amongst the Slavonians since they came into contact with the Greeks, because, notwithstanding the many hostile collisions which soon took place between these two nations, there was a good deal of commercial intercourse between them. Many Slavonians entered the service of the Greek emperors; and several individuals of that nation occupied at Constantinople, in the sixth and seventh centuries, places of high trust.*

The Croates and Servians, who, having been called by the Emperor Heraclius, arrived from the north of the Carpathian Mountains, and settled in their present country, were the first

religion, grant us the same rights which the Saxons possess in their farms, and we shall willingly become Christians, build churches, and pay tithes.'” (Helmold, *Chronicon Slavorum*.)

The oppression of the Slavonians by the Germans, under pretence of converting them to the Christian religion, has been described, besides Helmold, by another German missionary, Adam of Bremen, *vide* his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. iii. cap. xxv. ; and I have had an opportunity of stating, page 9, that this persecution was continued long after the final conversion of the Slavonians. It is, however, very pleasing to find an exception to these nefarious proceedings in the missionary labours of the German Prelate St Otho, bishop of Bamberg. He arrived at Pomerania in 1125, without a military force, but well acquainted with the language of the country; and his preaching, united to his disinterested and good behaviour, converted at once the idolaters of that country, who had hitherto strenuously resisted all the attempts to force Christianity upon them.

* Stritter, vol. ii. p. 6. The patriarchal see of Constantinople was occupied in 766 by a Slavonian. (Stritter, vol. ii. p. 80.)

Slavonic nations amongst whom Christianity became established as a dominant religion. The sovereign of Bulgaria* was converted in 861; and it was in that country that the real foundation of the Slavonic Christian Church was laid, by the translation of the Scriptures, begun there, but completed in Great Moravia.

The kingdom of Great Moravia must not be confounded with the Austrian province which bears this name at present. It was a powerful state, which extended from the frontiers of Bavaria to the river Drina in Hungary, and from the banks of the Danube and the Alps northward beyond the Carpathian Mountains to the river Stryi in southern Poland, and westward as far as Magdeburg. Its period of political grandeur was very transient, but its intellectual achievements performed during that short period are still lasting; for the translation of the Scriptures, and of the liturgy of the Eastern Church, into the Slavonic tongue, which was then completed in Great Moravia, is

* The Slavonians who had gradually settled in the Greek province of Moesia were conquered in 679 by the Bulgarians, a warlike but not numerous nation, of Asiatic origin, who bestowed their name on the conquered Slavonians, but gradually adopted their language and manners, so that in the course of two centuries their nationality was completely absorbed in that of their subjects. Bulgaria waged many bloody wars with the Greek emperors and its other neighbours; but after an unfortunate war against the Emperor Basilus the Second, it was conquered by him, and became a Greek province in 1018. It recovered its independence in 1186; but was, after many vicissitudes, conquered by the Turks in 1389, and has continued since that time a province of the Ottoman empire.

now used by all the Slavonians who follow that Church, and even by that part of it which has submitted to the supremacy of the Pope. I shall therefore give a few particulars on this subject.

Moravia fell, with other Slavonic countries, under the influence of Charlemagne, and acknowledged him and his son Louis the Debonnair as its suzerains. Moravia recovered its independence in 873, under Sviatopolk, a valorous soldier and a wise ruler. Christianity was introduced into that country by western missionaries during the reign of Charlemagne. Bishoprics were erected there under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Passau, and partly under that of Salzburg; but the conversion of the people, accomplished by foreign priests imperfectly acquainted with the language of the country, to a worship performed in Latin, was only nominal. It was therefore that the Moravian prince Rostislav, predecessor of Sviatopluk, requested in 863 the Greek Emperor Michael to send him learned men, well acquainted with the Slavonic tongue, in order to translate the Scriptures into it, and to organize the public worship in a proper manner. I shall relate this event in the words of the earliest Slavonic chronicler, Nestor, a monk of Kioff.

“ The Moravian princes Rostislav, Sviatopolk, and Kotzel, sent to the Emperor Michael, and said,—‘ Our land is baptized, but we have no teachers who would instruct us, and translate for us the sacred books. We do not un-

derstand either the Greek or the Latin language. Some teach us one thing, some another; therefore we do not understand the meaning of the Scriptures, neither their import. Send us teachers who might explain to us the Scriptures and their meaning.' When the Emperor Michael heard this, he called together his philosophers, and told to them the message of the Slavonic princes; and the philosophers said, 'There is at Thessalonica a man named Leon: he has two sons, who both know well the Slavonic language, and are both clever philosophers.' On hearing this, the Emperor sent to Thessalonica to Leon, saying, 'Send to us thy sons Methodius and Constantine;' which hearing, Leon straightway sent them; and when they came to the Emperor, he said to them, 'The Slavonic lands had sent to me, requesting teachers that might translate for them the Holy Scriptures.' And, being persuaded by the Emperor, they went into the Slavonic land to Rostislav, to Sviatopolk, and to Kotzel; and having arrived, they began to compose a Slavonic alphabet, and translated the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles; and the Slavonians rejoiced, hearing the greatness of God in their own language; after which they translated the Psalter and the other books." (*Nestor's Annals*, original text, edition of St Petersburg, 1767, pages 20-23.)

Many Slavonic scholars of considerable note think that Methodius, and his brother Constantine, better known under his monastic name Cyrillus, had begun the translation of the Scrip-

tures in Bulgaria, and invented there the Slavonic alphabet. But whether the invention of the alphabet and the translation of the Scriptures were originally effected in Moravia, or imported there by Methodius and Cyrillus, it was in the last-named country that the pious labours of these holy men received the greatest development, by the complete organization of the Divine service in the national language.

It must, however, be remarked, that although Cyrillus and Methodius established Divine worship in the Slavonic language, according to the rites of the Greek Church, they remained under the obedience of the Popes of Rome, and not under that of the patriarchs of Constantinople. It was just then the beginning of the great contest, which ended in the final separation of the Eastern from the Western Church. The establishment of the Slavonic worship in Moravia, where the Latin service had been before introduced, excited the anger of the German clergy, who denounced its promoters to Pope Nicholas the First. The Pope summoned the two brothers to his presence. They obeyed the Papal summons, and so entirely justified their proceedings, that Pope Adrian the First, who had succeeded Nicholas, confirmed the mode of worship established by them, and created Methodius Archbishop of Moravia ; but Cyrillus having refused the episcopal dignity which was offered him on that same occasion, entered a convent, and died shortly afterwards. Similar accusations obliged Methodius to repair again to Rome in

879. He obtained from Pope John the Eighth a confirmation of the Slavonic liturgy, but on condition that the Latin should be employed at the same time, and should have precedence of the Slavonic tongue. The hostility against the Slavonic liturgy went on increasing; and after the death of Methodius, it degenerated into a violent persecution, so that many Slavonic priests who defended the worship of God in their national tongue were expelled from the country, through German influence. The state of Moravia was destroyed in 907, by the pagan Magyars or Hungarians; and when these conquerors were converted to Christianity in 973, Latin service was established amongst them, and the Slavonic liturgy disappeared. It lingered for some time in Bohemia and Poland; and I shall have an opportunity of giving some particulars on this subject, in the lectures relating to these countries.

The Slavonic characters invented by Cyrillus are only a modification of the Greek alphabet, with the addition of some letters borrowed from the eastern alphabets, in order to express certain sounds which exist in the Slavonic, but not in the Greek tongue. The provincial Synod of Salona (in Dalmatia) in 1060 declared this Slavonic alphabet a diabolical invention, and Methodius an heretic. It continues, however, till the present day to be in use for sacred and devotional works, amongst all the Slavonians who follow the rites of the Greek Church, and even of that one which acknowledges the supremacy of the Pope.

There is another Slavonic alphabet in use for sacred purposes in several parts of Dalmatia, which, professing the rites of the Roman Church, have the privilege of performing service in the national language, under the name of the Glagolitic, and its origin was ascribed to a native of Dalmatia. This opinion does not stand the test of history, as St Jerome died in 420, many years before the Slavonians had settled in his native country. It was therefore supposed by Dobrowsky, the most eminent Slavonic scholar, that the prohibition of the Cyrillic alphabet by the Synod of Salona, in 1060, the Glagolitic letters were invented by some Slavonic prelate of Dalmatia, who, in order to save the liturgical language from destruction, put it out as originating from St Jerome. This position, which for some time had generally been admitted, was refuted by the librarian of the Imperial Library at Vienna, no less an authority on Slavonic subjects as Dobrowsky; and who established, by the discovery of an old Glagolite manuscript, that this alphabet was at least as old as the Cyrillic, although it is impossible to ascertain its origin.*

* It is a curious fact, that the gospels upon which the kings of France took their oath at their coronation in the Cathedral of Rheims are Slavonic, written partly in the Cyrillic and partly in the Glagolite characters. This circumstance was discovered for the first time by Peter the Great, when he visited Rheims, in 1717. A history of the

manuscript was published in 1846 at Prague, illustrated with *fac similes*, &c. by the well-known Slavonic scholar Hanka ; and I extract from the work the following details :—“ This manuscript was presented by the Emperor Charles the Third, king of Bohemia, to the convent of Emmaus, as a precious relic, in the hand-writing of St Procopius, abbot of the convent of Sazava. It was taken by the Hussites from that convent, which they, however, spared from destruction on account of the veneration which its inmates entertained for the Slavonic ritual. It afterwards found its way to Constantinople, in a manner which has not been ascertained ; but it is supposed that it was sent there as a present by the Hussite king of Bohemia, George Podiebrad, at the time when he negotiated a union with the Greek Church, on account of its beautiful binding, ornamented with gold, precious stones, and relics of saints. After a lapse of about a century, it was brought, in 1546, by a painter of Constantinople named Paleokappas, who dealt in costly objects, to the Council of Trent, where it was purchased by the Cardinal of Lorraine, who made a present of it to the Cathedral of Rheims, of which he was the archbishop. It disappeared during the first Revolution ; but was discovered a few years ago by a learned Russian, Alexander Turgueneff, in the municipal library of Rheims, where it had been deposited under the consulate of Napoleon, but stripped of the beautiful binding to which it owed its place amongst the French regalia.

LECTURE SECOND.

BOHEMIA.

BOHEMIA, although of comparatively small extent, occupies a prominent place in the religious history of Europe. Its geographical position, which forms a kind of Slavonic wedge entering the German body, as well as the strong spirit of nationality which animates her Slavonic population, and which centuries of oppression have been unable to destroy, must make that country an object of particular interest to all those who are not indifferent to the progress of mankind. Nowhere, perhaps, has the influence of religious opinions on the national development, and *vice versa*, been so strikingly illustrated as by the history of that country, small in extent, but great in deeds;—nowhere have the advantages of religious freedom, and the melancholy consequences of its suppression, been so visible as in Bohemia. The name of Bohemia is derived from the Celtic nation of the Boii, who occupied that country about the beginning of our era; whence the name of Bojohemum (the home or country of

the Boii), which was converted into Bohemia, and is still used by western Europe, but not by the Slavonic inhabitants of that country. Bohemia was afterwards occupied by the Teutonic population of the Marcomanni, who disappeared during the fifth century, having joined the Goths, Alani, and other nations, on their passage from the north-east to the south-west of Europe, and whose place was occupied by the Slavonic nation of the Chekhs during the immigration of that race, which I have mentioned in my last lecture, in the words of Herder.* This nation has remained in that country, and is known to western Europe under the name of Bohemians, although in its own language it retains the original national name of Chekhs, which is also given to it by all other Slavonic nations. The Bohemian monarchy was finally constituted under Boleslav the First (936–67); and the province of Moravia was united with it under Brzetislav (1037–55). It fell early under the influence of the German emperors, whose suzerainty was acknowledged by the Bohemian monarchs, and who received from them the royal crown at the end of the eleventh century. It acquired during the thirteenth century an extraordinary but short-lived greatness, under the King Przemysl Ottokar, who extended his dominion to the shores of the Adriatic.†

* *Vide* p. 4.

† It would not have been such a geographical absurdity in Shakspeare to have thrown his shipwrecked heroes on the coast of Bohemia, *Winter's Tale*, act 3, scene 3, if he had chosen that period for the time of his drama.

Its condition became very flourishing under the dynasty of Luxemburg ; and it was during that period that the celebrated religious and political movement known under the name of Hussitism took place.

Christianity must have penetrated into Bohemia about the times of Charlemagne, who had wars with that country, and compelled it to pay him a tribute. It became, however, free from the suzerainty of Charlemagne's successors, and placed itself under the protection of Sviatopluk, king of Great Moravia, where, as I have already related, Christianity was completely established by the apostolical labours of Methodius and Cyrillus.* The Duke of Bohemia, Borivoy, was baptized by Methodius ; and the same ecclesiastical organization as in Moravia was introduced into that country. After the destruction of the kingdom of Moravia, and by the gradual increase of German influence in Bohemia, the above-mentioned ecclesiastical organization, *i. e.* the worship in the national language, with the rites and discipline of the Eastern Church, were gradually giving way to the Latin liturgy and the practice of the Western Church, until the last stronghold of the former, the Benedictine convent of Sazava, was abolished by order of the ecclesiastical authority in 1094, and the Slavonic books which were preserved there destroyed on that occasion.† Yet although the national

* *Vide* p. 36.

† *Vide* Palacky's *Geschichte von Böhmen*, vol. i. page 339.

Churches were thus publicly abolished in Bohemia, there can be no doubt that they must have continued a long time after this event secretly to exist amongst a people so devotedly attached to all that is national as the Bohemians proved themselves to be on several occasions; and it was but natural that men should prefer Divine worship in their own language, to one performed in a tongue unknown to them.* It was also very natural that those Churches or congregations, although not opposed to the fundamental dogma of Rome, or its supremacy, became so by the persecution which they had to suffer, and that consequently they sympathized even with its dogmatic opponents. Protestant as well as Roman Catholic writers agree that the Waldensians, persecuted in France, sought refuge in Bohemia and Poland. Thuanus states that the great reformer of Lyons, Peter Waldo himself, after having visited the Slavonic countries, finally settled in Bohemia; and the learned Perrin adheres to this opinion. The Protestant Bohemian writer Stranski says,—“As the purity of the Greek ritual was insensibly becoming corrupted amongst the people, either through the

* L'Enfant relates, upon the authority of Spondanus, that Pope Innocent the Fourth allowed the Bohemians, about the middle of the thirteenth century, to perform Divine service in the national language. (*Histoire des Hussites*, vol. i. page 3.) And the Bohemian Jesuit Balbinus considers it a privilege most glorious to the Slavonians to have the permission of performing Divine worship in their own tongue.

remains of paganism, or by the influence of the Latins, there arrived in Bohemia in 1176 several pious individuals, disciples of Peter Waldo, very commendable, not only on account of their piety, but also by their knowledge of the Scriptures, and who had been expelled from France and Germany. They settled in the towns of Zatec and Lani. They joined the adherents of the Greek ritual whom they found there, and modestly corrected by the Word of God the defects which they discovered in their worship.* Another Protestant writer, Francoovich, better known under his assumed name of Illyricus Flaccius, relates that he had an account of the proceedings made by the Inquisition of Poland and Bohemia about 1330, which positively stated that it had been discovered that subscriptions were collected in these countries, and sent to the Waldensians of Italy, whom the contributors regarded as their brethren and teachers, and that many Bohemians visited these Waldensians, in order to study divinity.† The Roman Catholic writer Hagec says,—“In the year 1341, heretics called Grubbennaimer, *i. e.* inhabitants of caverns, again entered Bohemia. We have spoken of them above, under the year 1176. They settled in towns, but particularly at Prague, where they could better conceal themselves. They preached in some houses, but very secretly. Although they were known to many, they were tolerated,

* *Respublica Bohema*, cap. vi. p. 272.

† *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, cap. xv. p. 1505.

because they knew how to conceal their wickedness under a great appearance of piety.”* Eneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius the Second, maintains that the Hussites were a branch of the Waldensians. It is therefore more than probable that Waldensian doctrines were widely spread in Bohemia when Huss began to preach against Rome, and that they greatly contributed to the progress of his doctrines.

The national dynasty of Bohemia, which occupied her throne even before the introduction of Christianity into that country, ended in the male line in 1306, with Wenceslav the Second, and the Bohemian crown passed into the house of Luxemburg, by the marriage of Elizabeth, daughter of the last monarch of the ancient dynasty with John of Luxemburg, son of the Emperor Henry the Seventh. John is well known in history for his warlike exploits, but particularly by his chivalrous death on the field of Cressy, where he came to combat, not from any political motives, but simply from love of adventure. His son and successor Charles was an entirely different character from his father. Educated at the University of Paris under the tuition of the first scholars of the age, he was one of the most learned men of his time, and had perhaps in this respect, with the exception of James the First of Great Britain, no equal on the throne. His intellect was, however, of a much higher order than that of the crowned pedant who sat

* *Histor. Bohem.* p. 550.

on the British throne, and which he displayed in his writings, and even more by his actions. There is, indeed, a great difference between Charles's *Autobiography*, which inculcates to his children the precepts of Christian humility, and James's *Basilicon Doron*, which contains absurd notions about royal authority; but the difference between the reigns of these two sovereigns was still greater, because, if that of James was, to say the least, insignificant, the reign of Charles was one of the wisest and most prosperous with which Bohemia was ever blessed.

Charles the First of Bohemia is better known to western Europe as Charles the fourth emperor of Germany; he is also known by his golden bull, or the order of the election of the emperors, by the part which he took in the events of Rome during the momentary flash of its liberty under the celebrated tribune Cola di Rienzi, and the personal intercourse which he had on that occasion with Petrarcha; but his imperial reign is generally considered as supine and insignificant. Yet, if he proved himself to be an insignificant emperor in Germany, he was undoubtedly a really great king in Bohemia. He found that country in a state of great exhaustion by the continual wars of his father, whose sole object was to draw from it men and money for his frequent expeditions, without much scruple about the means by which he obtained these supplies; and it was but natural that such a reign should engender many and great abuses of every kind. Charles applied himself, imme-

diately after his accession, to a vigorous reform of all those abuses; and his honest and persevering efforts to improve the moral, material, and intellectual condition of his country, were crowned with a brilliant success. He accomplished, however, these reforms, not by the strong hand of a despot, whose measures, however well intentioned may be their object, and even however beneficial may be their consequences, produce but too often a depressive effect upon the character of the nation to which they are applied, making it too dependent upon its government, and weakening or destroying thereby the germ of every manly virtue,—in a nation as well as in an individual,—self-reliance. Charles respected the constitutional liberties of the kingdom, although they prevented him from introducing several beneficial laws, which were in advance of that age. He succeeded, however, by his influence, in reforming an immense number of the grossest abuses, which had disgraced the ecclesiastical as well as civil order of his country; repressed the rapacious spirit of many of his nobles; established public security by severe regulations against its disturbers of high and low degree; protected the weak against the strong; extended the municipal liberties of the towns, by which their population was increased, their commerce and industry promoted; and raised the agriculture to a flourishing condition. He was no less anxious to improve the intellectual state than the material condition of his country; and in 1347 he founded the University of Prague,

organized on the model of those of Bologna and Paris, filled its chairs with eminent scholars, and endowed it with ample funds for its maintenance. The most remarkable feature in the noble efforts of that monarch to enlighten his subjects, and which, I think, places him greatly in advance of his age, is, perhaps, that he was the first ruler who understood the true means of advancing the national intellect, which undoubtedly is the cultivation and development of the national language and literature; and he zealously promoted this object by his patronage of authors who wrote in Bohemian. This circumstance had a great influence upon the progress of Hussitism; and it is remarkable, that whilst in other countries the ecclesiastical reformation accelerated the development of the national language, by the translation of the Scriptures into it, which the reformers spread amongst the people, with several other works composed in the same language, it was the development of the national language and literature which prepared that mighty revolution in Bohemia.

The external peace which Charles carefully preserved with the foreign powers, and the internal tranquillity of the country which he succeeded in establishing and maintaining, by keeping down with a strong hand the turbulent spirit of his nobles, did not by any means extinguish the martial spirit of the Bohemians, which they had displayed on many occasions, but particularly during the adventurous reign of the preceding

monarch.* On the contrary, Charles rendered the valour of his subjects more efficient by a military organization which he introduced into the country; and their warlike ardour and habits were kept up by foreign service, in which many Bohemians were wont to engage during peace at home.

Such was the state of Bohemia previously to that terrible commotion which she underwent during the first part of the fifteenth century, and which is known under the name of the

* There are many characteristic anecdotes of the chivalrous spirit which animated the Bohemians during the period to which I allude in the text, *i. e.* the reign of John of Luxemburg. When this monarch was on one occasion making an expedition against Poland, his nobles represented to him, that they were obliged, by the constitution of the country, to join his standard within the limits of the country, but not to follow him beyond its frontiers. He simply answered,—“I shall march alone into the field, and see who amongst you is so bold, so foolish, or so cowardly, as not to follow the King of Bohemia.” These words were sufficient to make all resistance to his orders cease.

At Cressy he arrived on the battle-field, when the French were already routed. This was related to him,—as it is well known that he was entirely blind,—by his followers, and they advised him to retreat from a useless danger. But the king replied in Bohemian, “*Toho Buh da, ne bude, aby Kral Czeski z bitvy utikal.*” This, I trust in God, will never happen, that the Bohemian king should fly from a battle.” These words produced such an effect upon the small band of the Bohemians who had accompanied him on that occasion, that, closing round their blind monarch, and faithful unto death to him, they rushed into the midst of the English, although they had no chance either of success or escape. Seven Bohemian grandees, and more than two hundred knights of the same nation, were slain on that occasion.

Hussite wars. She was in some manner prepared for the tremendous struggle against the overwhelming forces of Germany, supported by the anathemas of Rome, and crusades from different parts of western Europe. The country was rich, enlightened, and warlike; but, above all, the national feeling of her inhabitants had acquired an extraordinary degree of intensity, which, I believe, was the mainspring of the energy which they displayed in the defence of their political and religious liberty, and which, I have no hesitation in saying, has no parallel in the pages of modern history.

The study of the national history in the ancient records, which naturally formed an important part of the national literature in that early period of its development, coupled with the influence of the Waldensians, whose existence in Bohemia during the same period, *i. e.* the fourteenth century, seems to me established beyond a doubt, by the evidence which I have adduced on this subject, could not but revive the traditional attachment of the Slavonians to their national worship. And, indeed, many years before Huss began to preach, several pious and learned ecclesiastics, as, for instance, Stiekna, Milicz, Janova, &c., advocated the communion of two kinds, which was an essential part of the above-mentioned worship. Their labours were, however, more devoted to the reformation of the corrupted manners of their age, than marked by any decided opposition to the established ecclesiastical order. Yet, by awakening the national mind to the serious

consideration of religious subjects, they greatly paved the way for the reforms of John Huss.

The life, opinions, and martyrdom of the great Slavonic reformer have been narrated over and over again, but particularly by a recent work generally known in this country.* The narrow limits of these lectures permit me not to enter here into a detailed account of this interesting subject; and, moreover, my object at present is not to discuss the theological points of different creeds which have prevailed, and still prevail, amongst the various populations belonging to the Slavonic race, but to delineate the influence which these various creeds exercised upon the intellectual and political condition of these populations. I shall therefore particularly dwell upon the effect which Huss and his doctrines produced upon the national intellect and character of his countrymen.

John Huss was born in a village called Hussinetz,—from which he took his name,—which signifies in Bohemian, a goose,—a circumstance to which he frequently alludes in his letters. He was of humble origin, but rose to eminence entirely by his learning and virtues, which are acknowledged by his most violent theological opponents. Thus, for instance, the Jesuit Balbinus says of him,—“He was more subtle than eloquent; but his modesty, his severe manners, his hard mode of living, his irreproachable con-

* *The Reformers before the Reformation*, by Emile Bonnechose; translated from the French by C. Mackenzie.

duct, his pale and emaciated countenance, the sweetness of his temper, and his affability towards every one, even the lowest individuals, persuaded more effectively than the greatest eloquence." Huss distinguished himself equally in the University and in the Church. In 1393 he was made bachelor and master of arts; and in 1401, Dean of the Philosophical Faculty. In 1400 he became the confessor of the Queen, on whom he had a great influence; and in 1403 he began to preach in the national language; but it was only in 1409 that he commenced his attacks upon the Established Church. A great cause of the popularity which Huss enjoyed amongst his countrymen was his strong attachment to his nation. His Latin works are known to western Europe; but it is not so generally known that he not only cultivated his own language, but also greatly improved it, by fixing the rules of its orthography, which had remained in use till very recently. The greatest cause of his popularity was, however, the service which he rendered to his countrymen in the arrangement of the University of Prague. This learned institution having been, as I have already said, founded in 1347 by the Emperor Charles the Fourth, on the model of those of Paris and Bologna, the statutes and usages of these two last named Universities were adopted by it. According to these statutes, the foreigners had, in all the affairs of the University, one vote, and the natives three; but as at the opening of the University there was a much greater number of *magistri artium* and

doctors who arrived from all parts of the Germanic empire to that learned institution, which was the first of the kind established within the limits of that empire, than of those who were natives of Bohemia, three votes were given to the former, and only one reserved to the latter. This arrangement caused the greater part of the honours and emoluments belonging to the University to be bestowed upon Germans, and not upon the natives of the country to which that University belonged,—a circumstance which could not but create amongst the Bohemians much ill-will and jealousy against the Germans. Huss undertook, in conjunction with his future fellow-martyr Jerome of Prague, and another patriot named John Zwickowicz, to redress this unjust arrangement; and his plea on that occasion was as follows:—"It is true that when Charles the Fourth, of glorious and blessed memory, had founded this University, he ordained that for a time the German masters of arts should have, in the election of the rector, and in the decision of all other academical officers, three votes, and that the Bohemians should have but one. This most praiseworthy monarch, however, made this regulation only because there were then but few of our countrymen who had received the degree of master of arts, or doctor; but as now, by the grace of God, there is a great number amongst us who have received these degrees, it is just that we should have three votes, and you Germans should rest satisfied with one." This affair was debated with much warmth on both

sides ; but finally, the influence of Huss obtained from the King of Bohemia, Wenceslav, a decree of the following purport :—“ Although it is necessary to love all men, yet charity ought to be regulated by the degrees of proximity. Therefore, considering that the German nation, which does not belong to this country, and has, moreover, as we have learnt from the most veritable evidence, appropriated to itself, in all the acts of the University of Prague, three votes, whilst the Bohemian nation, the legitimate heir of this realm, has but one ; and considering that it is very preposterous that foreigners should enjoy the privileges of the natives of the country, to the prejudice of the latter ; we order, by the present act, under the penalty of our displeasure, that the Bohemian nation should, without any delay or contradiction, enjoy henceforward the privilege of three votes in all councils, judgments, elections, and all other academic acts and dispositions, in the same manner as is practised in the University of Paris, and in those of Lombardy and Italy.”

The Germans made a strenuous effort to preserve their privilege ; and it is said that at a meeting which they held previous to the publication of the above-mentioned edict, they resolved that, should it take place, they were to retire in a body from Prague ; and those of them who would disobey this decision were to be punished by the loss of two fingers,—a characteristic trait of national animosities, and which shows that intellectual pursuits are not able to soften down those lamentable feel-

ings. Yet it is still more deplorable to think, as the events of these last eighteen months have shown, that the high mental development of which modern Germany boasts has not been able to change the feelings which animated their ancestors of the fifteenth century towards the Slavonians ; and that although the manner in which those feelings have been of late but too frequently expressed has become perhaps more refined by the progress of civilization, yet their real nature seems to remain unaltered. It is more than a year ago,—which in this eventful period is more than a quarter of a century,—since I alluded to this unfortunate state of things, and pointed out its dangerous consequences, which are now developing themselves with such fearful rapidity.* May heaven, in its mercy, avert from us the repetition of those events which similar causes produced in the fifteenth century !

When the edict was published, the Germans executed their resolution : with the exception of a few, they left Prague, and retired to Germany. This emigration seems to have been immense,† and it led to the foundation of the

* *Panslavism and Germanism*, p. 246.

† The accounts which several writers have given as to the number of the foreign students who left the University of Prague on that occasion differ very much. Hagec says that it was 40,000 ; Lupacius, 44,000 ; the contemporary author Lauda, quoted by Balbinus, states that it was 36,000 ; Dubravius, more than 24,000 ; Tritheme and Cochleus reduce these immense numbers to 2000. Eneas Sylvius states it to have been 5000 ; and I am inclined to

University of Leipsic, and soon afterwards to that of other similar establishments in Germany, where the name of Huss, as that of the principal cause of the revolution, became an object of universal hatred. It was, however, natural that the same reason should render Huss as popular amongst his own countrymen as he was odious to the Germans; and, indeed, he became the object of universal admiration in Bohemia, and his popularity amongst the inhabitants of that country was perhaps even greater than that which O'Connell enjoyed during his most palmy days in Ireland. This circumstance has undoubtedly contributed more than anything else to the rapid spread of his doctrines in Bohemia and other countries of the Slavonic tongue, whilst it accounts in a great measure for the remarkable circumstance, that the same doctrines found no echo in Germany, where a century afterwards the Reformation of Luther gained ground with considerable ease and rapidity.

The event which I have just narrated took place in 1409; and immediately afterwards Huss was elected rector of the University of Prague, and began openly to preach doctrines opposed to Rome. I have said that the ground for such doctrines was prepared in Bohemia by the tradition of the national Churches, which was cherished in the memory of her inhabitants

consider this last statement, given by the most accomplished writer of his time, and contemporary with the event, as the nearest to the truth.

by the influence of the Waldensians who had sought and found refuge in that country, and by the advance of the national intellect, promoted by the University of Prague. Let me add to these causes one more, of a very powerful nature, and which gave the impulse to the movement prepared by the others,—I mean the doctrines of the great British reformer Wickliffe.

Although a considerable distance separates Bohemia from this island, and which, in the imperfect state of communication during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was an insurmountable bar to frequent intercourse between the lands of Wickliffe and those of Huss, peculiar circumstance facilitated an intellectual connection between the two countries, and brought within the walls of Prague the opinions of the parish priest of Lutterworth. Richard the Second was married, as is well known, to Anna, daughter of the Emperor Charles the Fourth, whose beneficial reign in Bohemia I have described in the course of this lecture. She had brought over with her to England several Bohemian attendants, who, after the death of that princess, returned to their native land, and imported the writings of Wickliffe. Some Bohemians went to the then far-famed University of Oxford; and Jerome of Prague is said to have remained for some time at that University, whence he returned furnished with the works of Wickliffe, and imbued with his opinions. It is also said that two English Lollards, named James and Conrad, of Canterbury, arrived at

Prague, where, Huss having received them in his house, they communicated to him the works of Wickliffe, which Huss disliked at first, but, becoming better acquainted with their contents, he changed his opinion on this subject. According to the same account, these two Englishmen requested Huss's permission to paint the hall of his house, which having obtained, they represented upon its walls, on one side the entrance of Christ into Jerusalem, and on the other a cavalcade of the Pope, with all the splendour of pontifical pomp. Huss was much pleased with these pictures ; and having spoken of them with great praise, a large number of the inhabitants of Prague went to see them, and made comments upon their meaning. The opinions became divided upon this subject, some taking a part for, others against, the subject of these pictures ; and it may be easily conceived that, at a time when the art of printing was still unknown, a bold attack upon such a revered authority as that of Rome made by this emblem, could not but produce a strong sensation ; and, indeed, it created such a ferment amongst the inhabitants of Prague, that the English strangers were obliged to leave that place. This circumstance must also have considerably attracted the attention of the public to the productions of Wickliffe, which seem at that time to have circulated in great numbers in Bohemia, as Sbinko, archbishop of Prague, in 1402 caused a great number of them to be publicly burnt. The author who relates this event says, that many of the books which

perished in that *auto da fé* were beautifully written and splendidly bound;* a circumstance which shows that they had been in the possession of wealthy persons, and, consequently, that the opinions which they contained had gained access to high quarters.

Huss translated at least several of Wickliffe's works, and sent them to the principal noblemen of Bohemia and Moravia; and their circulation was not confined to these countries, but extended to Poland, where they found ardent admirers. But I shall give more particulars on this subject in my next lecture.

From all that I have said, it is evident that when Huss began to proclaim his doctrines, Bohemia was ripe for a spiritual insurrection against the authority of Rome; but it is probable that, without such a leader as he was, this insurrection would have been very partial, and would never have assumed that national character which was the principal cause of the rapidity with which it spread over all the country, and gave to it that intensity of vigour which its adherents displayed during the long and tremendous struggle by which it was followed. Had Huss confined his labours to theological discussions, without identifying himself, as he did, with the cause of Bohemian nationality, his success would have been limited to a small number of disciples, instead of influencing the hearts and minds of a whole nation. This

* *Pulcherrime conscripta ac bullis aureis tegumentisque preciosis ornata*, says Cochleus, *De Bello Hussitico*.

circumstance has not escaped the sagacious observer Balbinus, whose honest heart glowed for his nation, even under the garb of a Jesuit, and whose clear-sighted judgment remained unbiassed by the withering influence of the order to which he belonged. This eminent writer, who, by his patriotic efforts in collecting the historical and literary monuments of Bohemia, which his fellow Jesuits were sedulously destroying, has rendered an immense service to his country, having made a profound study of all that relates to the history of Hussitism; and although, as a devoted son of the Roman Catholic Church, he severely condemned the dogma of those formidable enemies of his Church, he never hesitated to render full justice to them whenever they deserved commendation. His impartiality is therefore above all praise, for it proceeded from a pure love of truth, and not from that so-called philosophical indifference, which, having no heart, soul, or faith for or in anything, reduces the historian to a mere weighing machine of facts and arguments.

I must apologise to my readers for this perhaps too long digression about the patriotic historian of Bohemia; but it will be in the course of this work but too often my painful duty to pass a severe condemnation upon the misdeeds of that celebrated body to which Balbinus belonged. I therefore was unable to forego the pleasure of dwelling for a moment on one of those few sunny spots which occasionally light up the long and gloomy track of iniquity pursued by that body, and which

winds through the pages of the history of Bohemia, and of that of my own country.

I return to the subject in question, *i. e.* the cause of that extraordinary influence which Huss gained over his countrymen. Balbinus, unable to develop it without condemning the hostility of his order to the nationality of his country, which I shall describe at the end of this lecture, has pointed it out by a masterly stroke of his pen. After having related the powerful effect of the sermons which Huss preached in the national language at a chapel called Bethlehem, he concludes by the following verse of Virgil :—

“Hic illius arma, hic currus fuit.”

And let me add, that in the future religious revolutions which undoubtedly will follow the political and social commotions which now agitate the world, that party will obtain the victory amongst the Slavonians which shall employ the same arms, and ascend the same car, and which are those of nationality.

As a specimen of the popular style in which Huss preached his sermons, I may quote the following fragment, preserved by the Protestant writer Theobald, to whose thorough knowledge of the subject Balbinus bears a favourable testimony.

“My dear Bohemians,—Is it not very strange that you should be prohibited from proclaiming truth, and particularly that truth which manifest itself now in England and other countries; as, for instance, that the use of separate bury-

ing places, and of large bells, has no other object than to fill the purse of the priests? There are, besides, many other things which are maintained under pretence of order, but which in reality are only fit to disturb Christendom. These people seek to enthrall you by their disorderly order; but if you will prove yourselves to be men, you will easily break these chains, and acquire such a liberty, that you would feel as if you had left a prison. Moreover, is it not a shame and a sin, that books containing truth, and solely written for your welfare, should be burnt?"

Words of this kind, addressed to the common sense and the national feeling of his hearers, could not but produce a powerful effect upon their minds; and this effect was not confined to the great mass of the population, but extended to the highest classes of society, as is evident from the protest against the execution of Huss, addressed to the Council of Constance, and signed by the principal nobles of Bohemia and Moravia.* A similar protest against the imprisonment of Huss was addressed to the Council by all the Bohemian nobles present at Constance, in which they were joined by all those of Poland who were then in the same place.

The history of Huss's martyrdom at Constance,—of the shameful manner in which the imperial safe-conduct granted to him was vio-

* The original of this protest is now preserved in the College Library of Edinburgh.

lated, and of the heroic constancy, as well as Christian resignation and meekness, with which he met his unjust fate, is generally known, and so is that of his fellow-labourer and martyr Jerome of Prague. I therefore shall not enter into a description of events which may be found in every school-book of modern history, and which has been treated with much detail in a recent work, to which I have already referred;* but confine my narration to the effects which those events produced in Bohemia, about whose political condition at that time it is necessary to say a few words.

The throne of that country was then occupied by Wenceslav, son of Charles the Fourth, who in 1378 succeeded his father to the imperial diadem of Germany and the royal crown of Bohemia. He inherited the dignity and possessions, but not the virtues and talents, of his father. Of a weak mind, violent disposition, and profligate conduct, his reign was most tyrannical and oppressive. Deposed by a conspiracy of his nobles, he regained his throne by the assistance of his relatives, but only to lose it soon again. His own brother Sigismund, king of Hungary, seized by treachery his person, threw the captive sovereign into the common jail of his own capital, and transferred him afterwards to a place of confinement at Vienna. Wenceslav succeeded in making his escape after eighteen months of imprisonment, and returned to Prague, the citizens of which, having experi-

* *Vide* p. 53.

enced from Sigismund a still worse treatment than from their legitimate sovereign, received him with great joy. This event took place in 1403; and Wenceslav showed at this third resumption of his throne an entirely altered disposition. He was broken in spirit: his violence was gone; and succeeded by a state of apathy; he thought now of nothing more than of indulging in sensual pleasures; and the rigour of tyranny was replaced by the relaxed rule of a supine authority. In short, the change which misfortune had wrought in his character was so complete, that from a king stork he became a king log. He was deprived of the imperial crown, which was bestowed upon his brother Sigismund; but he retained the throne of Bohemia, where his facile reign was very favourable to the free development of doctrines opposed to the Established Church, which, under another rule, would have undoubtedly met a severe repression, not only from ecclesiastical, but also civil authority. Wenceslav, however, who disliked the priests, and called them "the most dangerous of all the comedians," was glad to see their power shaken by the preaching of Huss. He therefore laughed at the complaints which they addressed to him on this subject; and thus all the efforts of the ecclesiastical authority to stop the progress of Huss's doctrine, being unsupported by the civil power, failed in producing any effect.

The news of the death of Huss produced a feeling of consternation throughout Bohemia; and a universal cry of indignation burst forth

against the perpetrators of that crime. It was considered by high and low as an insult offered to the Bohemian nation, in the person of the most popular man of the country. The University of Prague issued a manifesto addressed to the whole of Christendom, vindicating the memory of Huss. Many writings appeared with the same object; and one of them not only defended the memory of Huss, as that of an innocently murdered man, but declared the Council of Constance to be an assembly of the satraps of the modern Antichrist. A medal was struck in honour of Huss; and a day in the calendar of saints, the 6th July, was consecrated to him. He was considered not only a religious, but also a national martyr, who fell a victim to the hatred which the Germans bore him for his attachment to Bohemia. The doctrines which Huss had sealed by his death received by this event a new impulse, and the number of their disciples rapidly increased. Several Churches adopted the communion of two kinds, and introduced the worship in the national language. Amongst the disciples of Huss, who began now to be called Hussites, differences of opinion began to prevail, some of them entirely rejecting the authority of the Church, and admitting no other rule of faith than the Scriptures; whilst others contented themselves with the communion of two kinds, the free preaching of the gospel, and some minor reforms. The first of them took afterwards the name of Taborites, whilst the second became known under the appellation of Calixtines, on account

of their attachment to the communion of two kinds, of which a chalice was the emblem. It was, however, only with the progress of time that the principles of belief of the two parties became finally developed, and assumed a definite shape.

The spread of Hussitism, although general amongst all the classes of Bohemia, met with a strong resistance from the adherents of the Roman Catholic Church, who formed a powerful minority, composed of all the higher and a great number of the inferior clergy of convents and nunneries, possessing large estates and considerable influence, many great nobles and wealthy burghers, particularly of German origin. Their party was well organized, and could rely on the support of Rome and the Emperor Sigismund, who had declared against the Hussites. The Hussites were more numerous, comprehending the great majority of the nation; for, besides many nobles and burghers, as well as inferior clergy, almost all the peasantry were on their side; and it is that simple-hearted and single-minded class, capable of a greater enthusiasm and devotion to the cause which it embraces than the more refined inhabitants of the towns, which gives the greatest strength to a party, by rendering it truly national. They only wanted a leader,—a man capable of directing by his deeds the movement which Huss had created by the power of his word. This man was found in John Trocznowski, known to Europe under the nick-name of Ziska,* whose extraordinary

* *I.e.* “the one-eyed.” Z must be pronounced here as the French j.

talents and savage energy cannot perhaps find a parallel in modern history.

Ziska was a Bohemian noble, born in the latter part of the fourteenth century at Trocznow, his paternal estate, situated in the circle of Bechin. It is said that his mother, when superintending the reapers during a harvest day, was suddenly taken with the pains of travail, and gave birth to Ziska under an oak,*—a circumstance which was afterwards considered as an omen of the vigour which the child born under its shadow was to display as a man. Ziska began life as a page of the Emperor Charles the Fourth, and afterwards followed the military career. He served a long time in the armies of Poland, where he distinguished himself on many occasions, but particularly at the battle of Grunwald or Tannenberg, in 1410, where the German knights were defeated. Ziska, having returned to his native land, became chamberlain of King Wenceslav. He was no longer young when the martyrdom of Huss took place; and the news of this event produced upon his mind a powerful impression.

* The trunk of this oak stood till the beginning of the last, *i. e.* eighteenth century; but was nearly destroyed by the blacksmiths of the surrounding country, who imagined that a splinter taken from this trunk and attached to their hammer would give additional force to its strokes. The ecclesiastical authority, in order to put a stop to this superstitious practice, caused the remains of that trunk to be cut down, and a chapel to be built on the spot where it stood, with an inscription, stating that the heretic Ziska, of evil memory, was born there.

The reckless courtier forsook the gaieties of the banqueting hall, and was seen perambulating the long corridors of the royal palace alone, with folded arms, and wrapt in deep meditation. The king perceiving his chamberlain in this strange mood, said once to him "Yanku, *i. e.* Johnny, what is the matter with you?" "I cannot brook the insult offered to Bohemia at Constance by the murder of John Huss," was Ziska's answer. The king rejoined, "Neither you nor myself are able to avenge this insult; but should you have means to do it, you have my permission." Ziska eagerly caught this idea; and perceived at once all the advantages which he would derive in the promotion of his object, by obtaining the support of the royal name. He therefore requested the king to give him a written authorization under his seal, to do what he had verbally permitted him. The king, who was very fond of amusement, and knew that Ziska had neither wealth, friends, nor influence, thought this request a good joke, and immediately granted it; but Ziska availed himself of this document in order to induce many persons to join him in his project. The quarrels among the religious parties of Bohemia were daily increasing, although no serious collision had yet taken place. King Wenceslav remained passive; he had no children to inherit his throne; he disliked his brother the Emperor Sigismund, who had given him but too many reasons for such a feeling; and only thought how to spend the remainder of his days in the undisturbed enjoyment of his low plea-

asures. His sentiments were probably the same as those which are generally believed to have been expressed by the celebrated statesman of our days, who has been not long ago precipitated from his high position by a sudden outbreak of the principles which, for more than thirty years, he had sedulously laboured to repress,—“*Après moi le deluge.*”

Such were not, however, the feelings of his brother Sigismund, emperor of Germany, King of Hungary, and presumptive heir of the Bohemian throne. He well knew that his base conduct towards Huss could not but make him an object of aversion to the followers of the man whom he had betrayed, by violating the safe conduct under the protection of which Huss had arrived at Constance; and that he had no hope of securing the throne of Bohemia except by crushing the Hussites. The Council of Constance could not remain less indifferent than the Emperor to a movement which had been provoked by its own foul deed, and it summoned to its presence about four hundred principal Hussites, offering them a safe conduct. The example of Huss was, however, too recent to permit his followers to put any trust in the honour of the Council, and its summons was disregarded. The Council therefore published a declaration against them, contained in twenty-four articles; and it addressed a letter to the Emperor Sigismund, representing to him that the Hussites had become, since the execution of their two leaders by the Council, more ardent in supporting their doctrines, and had attracted to their party the

great and the little,—that they circulated a great number of scandalous writings against the decrees of the Council,—that the communion of two kinds was administered with impunity,—that John Huss and Jerome of Prague were revered as saints by the Bohemians,—and that the Roman Catholics, but particularly the clergy, were sorely oppressed. The same letter complained of the negligence of King Wenceslav, and even threw out a suspicion of his supporting the Hussites, or at least conniving at their progress.

The Council of Constance closed its sittings on the 22d April 1418, after having finally pacified the internal divisions of Rome by the election of Pope Martin the Fifth. It was now the business of the new pontiff to prosecute war against the external enemies of the Church ; and he issued a bull addressed to the clergy of Bohemia, Poland, England, and Germany, reproaching that many prelates and lay nobles have been *mute dogs* when heresy was raising its head, and ordering that all the followers of the heresies of Huss and Wickliffe should be examined, judged according to the laws, and delivered to the secular power. He also commanded all the princes and secular judges to be very strict in the execution of those orders ; and, lest any person might plead ignorance, he appended to this bull forty-five articles of Wickliffe and thirty of Huss, which had been condemned by the Council of Constance. It was, however, not sufficient to issue bulls, without adopting efficient means for their execution.

Martin despatched, therefore, to Bohemia, as his legate, the Cardinal Dominic of Ragusa, in order to enforce the provisions of his bull. The legate arrived in Bohemia, and succeeded in causing the execution of two Hussites in a town called Slan ; but this act of persecution raised against the cardinal such a strong and universal indignation throughout all the country, that he was obliged to leave it ; and he addressed a letter to the Emperor Sigismund, declaring that pen and tongue were henceforward useless in Bohemia, and that it could be reconciled to the Church only by the employment of fire and sword.

All these circumstances could not but increase the violence of the excitement which then agitated the whole of Bohemia, and particularly its capital Prague. Wenceslav, afraid of an insurrection in that city, ordered its inhabitants to be disarmed. This order spread consternation amongst the citizens of Prague ; for if it was dangerous to disobey the order of the king and excite his anger, it was still more dangerous to be placed in a defenceless condition. They were relieved from this perplexity by Ziska, who, since the conversation with his royal master which I have related above, was watching a fit opportunity to put his projects into execution. He appeared in the midst of the assembled burghers, who were deliberating about the course which they were to follow ; and declared that, knowing well the real intentions of the king, he could give them the best advice how to act on that occasion. His proposition

being accepted, he caused the citizens to dress in their finest apparel, and to arm themselves in the best manner they could; after which he proceeded at their head to the presence of the king, whom he addressed in the following manner:—"Sire,—Your Majesty has demanded our arms: here they are, ready for your Majesty's service. Show us your enemies against whom we may employ them." This ingenious device pleased or intimidated the king; he approved the conduct of the citizens of Prague, and graciously dismissed them. This event confirmed the opinion that Ziska enjoyed great credit with the monarch, and increased his influence with the people.

Ziska now began to act in conjunction with Nicholas of Hussinetz, a wealthy nobleman, on whose estates John Huss was born, and who zealously embraced his doctrines. He seized a strong mountainous position, to which he gave the name of Tabor, and fortified it in a most skilful manner. It was, indeed, high time that the Hussites should think about the means of defence, as their enemies were becoming every day more active, and derived support from the Emperor Sigismund, heir-apparent to the childless Wenceslav, and who had already introduced his troops into several parts of Bohemia.

The causes which produce civil or religious wars generally accumulate for a considerable time before collision takes place. The mutual animosity of the opposite parties, excited by the speeches and writings of their respective leaders, gradually increases, until it reaches such a

degree of intensity, that even those who had fanned the flames of popular passion are no longer able to prevent their outburst; and one blow, one spark, sets the whole country into a blaze, which generally is not extinguished till after long years of suffering. This happened in Bohemia. Four years elapsed since the martyrdom of Huss, before that terrible contest, of which it was the principal cause, had begun.

I shall relate the first collision between the Hussites and the Roman Catholics in the graphic words of a contemporary author who had been an eye-witness of that event,—Benesius Horzowicki, a disciple and friend of Huss, and who took an active part with him in the contest against the Germans about the academical votes. We owe the preservation of this account to that honest Jesuit Balbinus, whom I have already quoted, and who says of it, that, although proceeding from an heretic, it is trustworthy.

“ On Michaelmas day 1419 a great multitude of people assembled on an extensive plain called the Crosses, which lies on the road leading from Beneshow to Prague. There were many people from different towns and villages, but the most part of them belonged to Prague, which was then very populous, and who came partly on foot and partly in carts. They were called together on that plain by three priests, namely, Jacobel, John Cardinal, and Mathias Toczenicki, because when Wenceslav was still alive, people met on some mountains, which they called Horeb, Beranek, Tabor, &c., in order to

have there the communion of two kinds. Therefore Mathias Toczenicki caused a table to be set up on three empty casks upon that plain, and gave the eucharist to the people, without any display; even the table was not covered, and the priests had no sacerdotal vestments. Towards the evening, the whole crowd marched to Prague, and arrived at night, with lighted tapers, at *Wissehrad*.* It is surprising that they did not seize on that occasion this fortress, the conquest of which afterwards cost them so much blood; but war had not yet begun. Coranda, the parish priest of Pilsen, came also to the same place, bearing the eucharist, and accompanied by a large crowd of both sexes. Before these people had left the plain of the Crosses, a gentleman addressed them, requesting them to indemnify a poor man whose corn-field they had spoiled; and immediately such a liberal collection was made, that the man lost nothing by it. The people committed no hostilities, marching like pilgrims only with sticks. But things soon entirely changed. The priests, on leaving the place, exhorted the people to assemble there again before Martinmas; but the garrisons which Sigismund had in several towns and castles, united together in order to prevent this assemblage, and this gave occasion to several bloody combats. The inhabitants of Pilsen, Clattau, Taush, and Sussicz, who were on their way to the place of meeting, having been warned by Coranda of the ambuscade

* The Castle of Prague.

prepared against them, armed themselves, and informed of this the others who were going to the same place. Thus a very considerable army was very soon formed. When they arrived at a certain town called Cnin, they received letters from the inhabitants of Aust, a place situated in the district of Bechin, not far from Tabor, asking their assistance, as the imperialists had placed themselves upon the road which led to Prague, in order to intercept them on their march to that place. They therefore despatched to their assistance five waggons filled with well-armed men; but scarcely had these latter crossed the Moldawa, when they perceived two bodies, one of horsemen and another on foot. The first were commanded by Peter Sternberg, a Roman Catholic nobleman, and president of the mint of Kuttenberg; the second were about four hundred persons, men and women, going as pilgrims from Aust to Prague, and to whose assistance they were sent. They immediately despatched a message to Cnin, demanding a prompt reinforcement, and continued their march towards the spot where the people of Aust had taken up a position on a small eminence; but these latter were attacked by Sternberg, and routed before the assistance had time to join them. Several Austians, however, escaped from the rout, and joined their friends of Cnin, who occupied a little hill, and were attacked, in their turn, by Sternberg. They, however, defended themselves so well, that he was obliged to retire to Cuttenberg. After this victory they remained the whole day on the

spot where the people of Aust were defeated, buried the dead, and caused divine service to be performed by their priests. They went then to Prague, in order to celebrate their victory, and were received with great joy by their brethren."

It is evident from this account, that the Hussites were not the first cause of the terrible bloodshed which followed this event ; but that their peaceful expedition, of a purely devotional character, was violently interfered with by the armed bands of the emperor. This combat was a circumstance very favourable to the cause of the Hussites ; because in every contest the advantage obtained at the first collision, however insignificant or accidental it may be, rarely fails in producing a great moral effect upon the bulk of the people. It raises the spirits of the one and depresses those of the other party, although generally there is no real cause for either of these feelings. Yet, although the cool judgment of a leader duly appreciates the real value of similar causes, a man of genius knows how to take advantage of their effects, and Ziska was not a man to let pass such a favourable opportunity for the execution of his projects. He therefore issued a proclamation addressed to the inhabitants of the town of Taush or Tista, and which seems to have been a kind of circular, which he sent to all the places of Bohemia that were free from imperial garrisons. This proclamation, appealing as much to the national as to the religious feelings of his countrymen, was admirably calculated to strike the most

sensible chord of their hearts, and it made them vibrate with a most powerful effect. I shall therefore give a translation of this remarkable document.

“Dearest Brethren,—God grant, through his grace, that you should return to your first charity, and that, doing good works, like true children of God, you should abide in his fear. If he has chastised and punished you, I beg you in his name that you should not be cast down by affliction. Consider those who work for the faith, and suffer persecution from its adversaries, but particularly from the Germans, whose extreme wickedness you have yourselves experienced for the sake of Jesus Christ. Imitate your ancestors the ancient Bohemians, who were always able to defend the cause of God and their own. For ourselves, my brethren, having always before our eyes the law of God and the good of the country, we must be very vigilant; and it is requisite that whoever is capable to wield a knife, to throw a stone, or to lift a cudgel, should be ready to march. Therefore, my brethren, I inform you that we are collecting troops from all parts, in order to fight against the enemies of truth and the destroyers of our nation; and I beseech you to inform your preacher, that he should exhort, in his sermons, the people to make war on the Antichrist, and that every one, old and young, should prepare himself for it. I also desire, that when I shall be with you there should be no want of bread, beer, victuals, or provender, and that you should provide yourselves

with good arms. It is now time to be armed, not only against foreigners, but also against domestic foes. Remember your first encounter, when you were few against many,—unarmed against well-armed men. The hand of God has not been shortened. Have courage and be ready. May God strengthen you!—ZISKA of the Chalice, in the hope of God, chief of the Taborites.”*

Ziska marched now at the head of crowds of peasantry, who flocked from all parts to his standard; he surprised and captured on his way a body of imperial cavalry, whose horses and arms he employed for mounting and arming his own people. He entered Prague, and was received by its population with great joy. The Hussites began to offer violence to several Roman Catholic clergymen, and attempted to get possession of their churches, in order to establish in them their own mode of worship. The magistrates of the town having opposed their wishes, a terrible riot ensued, during which the principal of those magistrates were murdered, and many churches and convents pillaged.

King Wenceslav was so much affected by those events, that he died from a fit of apoplexy.

* It is remarkable, that Mr Bonnechose, in reproducing this celebrated letter (*Reformers before the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 287, English translation), has omitted its most characteristic trait, namely, the allusions to the Germanic and the Bohemian nations. This letter, which Lenfant (*Histoire des Hussites*, vol. i. p. 103) has translated from Theobald's work, was published in the original Bohemian, with a German translation, in the first volume of the *Neue Abhandlungen der Prager Gesellschaft*.

As he was childless, the succession to his throne devolved upon his brother the Emperor Sigismund. He was at that time engaged in a war with the Turks, and this gave free scope to the development of Hussitism. Unfortunately its disciples disgraced their cause by the most deplorable excesses of the wildest fanaticism. Churches and convents* were everywhere pillaged and destroyed; and priests, monks, and nuns often barbarously murdered. Ziska, who was the soul of this movement, lost, at the siege of the town of Raby, the one eye which remained to him; and it was after having thus become entirely blind that he displayed his extraordinary military talents.

Sigismund convoked at Brunn, in Moravia, a diet, composed of Roman Catholics, who were as much attached to his cause as the Hussites were opposed to him. He promised the latter amnesty on condition that they should return to the Church. This offer being rejected, he prepared himself to reduce the heretics by force of arms. The town of Prague was in the hands of the Hussites, but the castle of that city was held by an imperial garrison. The emperor marched against that capital with an army composed of Roman Catholic Bohemians and Moravians, as well as Hungarians and Germans. It was commanded, under the emperor, by five electors, two dukes, two landgraves, and more than fifty German princes; and its number, accord-

* Protestant as well as Roman Catholic historians say that their number amounted to 550.

ing to the evidence of contemporary writers, exceeded an hundred thousand men. Yet this immense army was repulsed by the Hussites, who, besides these assailants, had to defend themselves from the enemy occupying the castle of Prague. The invaders committed great atrocities, particularly during their retreat, when many inhabitants were massacred by the soldiery, who considered every Bohemian as a Hussite. A second attempt against Prague, made by the emperor the same year, 1420, was no more effective. This success raised the fanaticism and courage of the Hussites to the highest pitch. Many of their preachers proclaimed the approach of the reign of the just, which was to be established over the whole world by the arms of the Taborites,—a belief which could not but inspire with a dauntless courage those who entertained it, and which fully accounts for the extraordinary triumphs of the Hussites. There was also a prediction spread amongst them, that all the towns and villages of Bohemia were to be swallowed by an earthquake, with the exception of five cities, which were particularly favourable to them. The Hussites were always preceded on their march by priests bearing chalices, often made of wood; and they continually administered the communion of two kinds, frequently using water instead of wine. The priests were followed by the warriors, who marched singing psalms; and the rear was generally closed by women, who worked at the fortifications, and took care of the wounded. The superstitious belief about

the destruction of the towns and villages, to which I have just alluded, caused them to be deserted by crowds, who usually joined the army, so that there was never any want of recruits.

If I were to describe the many battles which took place between the Hussites and their enemies, the extraordinary feats of valour and the surprising skill which had been displayed on these occasions, and to give an account of the various diplomatic negotiations by which it was attempted to terminate this war, volumes would be required to do justice to this important subject. My limits permit me, however, to give only a brief outline of these events.

The Bohemians assembled a diet in the town of Czaslaw, in order to deliberate about the affairs of their country. They declared Sigismund unworthy of their throne; and resolved to offer it either to the King of Poland or to a prince of his dynasty. It was on that occasion that they declared the four celebrated articles, from which they never afterwards departed in their negotiations with the imperial as well as ecclesiastical authorities. These articles were as follows :—

1. The Word of God is to be freely announced by Christian priests throughout the kingdom of Bohemia and the margraviate of Moravia.

2. The venerable sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ is to be given in two kinds to adults as well as children, as Jesus Christ has instituted it.

3. The priests and monks, of whom many

meddle with the affairs of the State, are to be deprived of the worldly goods which they possess in great quantity, and which make them neglect their sacred office; and their goods shall be restored to us, in order that, in accordance with the doctrine of the Gospels and the practice of the apostles, the clergy should be subject to us, and, living in poverty, serve as a pattern of humility to others.

4. All the public sins which are called mortal, and all other trespasses contrary to the law of God, are to be punished according to the laws of the country, by those who have the charge of them, without any regard to the persons committing them, in order to wipe from the kingdom of Bohemia and the margraviate of Moravia the bad reputation of tolerating disorders.

This diet, in which a great many Roman Catholics took part, established a regency, composed of magnates and nobles, the principal of whom was Ziska, and of burghers. Sigismund having addressed a message to that diet, in which he promised to confirm their liberties, and to redress the wrongs of which they might have a just cause to complain, if they should receive him as their sovereign, and threatening them with war in case of refusal, the diet answered his message by an address, which shows how strongly the feelings of religion and patriotism were blended in the hearts and minds of the Hussites. This address contained the following exposition of their grievances:—

1. Your Majesty has permitted, to the great dishonour of our country, that Master John

Huss, who went to Constance with your safe-conduct, should be burnt.

2. All the heretics who stray from the Christian faith had the liberty of speaking at the Council of Constance, but it was refused only to our excellent men. Moreover, in order to aggravate still more the affront offered to the Bohemian nation, you have caused to be burnt Master Jerome of Prague, a man of great merit, and who went to Constance under the same guarantee of public faith as Huss.

3. Your Majesty has in the same Council caused Bohemia to be proscribed and anathematized by a bull of excommunication, which the Pope has issued against the Bohemians and their priests, or rather preachers, in order to extirpate them from the root.

4. Your Majesty has ordered the same bull to be published at Breslau, to the shame of Bohemia and the ruin of all the kingdom.

5. By this publication your Majesty has excited and roused against us all the adjacent countries, as against public heretics.

The other grievances were the taking of the crown of Bohemia out of the country without the consent of the nation, which exposed it to the contempt and raillery of the world; the alienation of some provinces belonging to Bohemia, without the consent of the States, &c. &c. They concluded by demanding that the disgrace which was cast upon Bohemia and Moravia should be wiped from these countries, and all other grievances redressed; and by requesting Sigismund to state to them, in a clear

and precise manner, his resolution about the four articles,* which they were determined to maintain, as well as the rights, constitutions, privileges, and good customs of Bohemia, which they enjoyed under his predecessors. Sigismund replied, that the execution of Huss and Jerome of Prague took place against his will. He endeavoured to explain the other grievances, and promised to discuss the subject of the four articles, and to maintain the liberties of the country. Sigismund's propositions being rejected, he entered Bohemia with an army, composed chiefly of Hungarians, but was repelled by Ziska. Bohemia was frequently invaded by the imperial forces, but they were constantly defeated; and the Hussites, in order to retaliate these aggressions, made incursions into imperial provinces.

Three political parties then divided Bohemia: the Roman Catholics and the greatest part of the high nobility, even belonging to the Calixtines or moderate Hussites, wished to retain Sigismund; the party of Prague, which was composed of the citizens of that capital, as well as of several other towns, and supported by many inhabitants of the country, who belonged to the sect of the Calixtines, desired another king than Sigismund; and, thirdly, the Taborites, with Ziska at their head, who did not wish to have any king at all. The party of Prague proposed to offer the crown of their country to the King of Poland; and the danger to which the

* The same which I have mentioned above.

Hussites were exposed from the hostility of Sigismund, who disposed of the forces of Hungary and Germany, induced them to waive their differences, and to unite in securing the assistance of a cognate nation. Embassies, composed of the representatives of all the parties, amongst whom was conspicuous, as a delegate of the Taborites, the Englishman Peter Payne,* were repeatedly sent to Poland. The throne of that country was then occupied by Vladislav Jaguillon, Grand Duke of Lithuania, who had become a Christian on his marriage with Hedvige, Queen of Poland, in 1386. He

* Peter Payne was born in Lincolnshire, at a place called Haugh or Hough, three miles from Grantham. He studied at Oxford, in Edmund's Hall, of which he was afterwards Principal (1410-15). It is impossible to ascertain the precise time when Payne arrived in Bohemia, where he enjoyed a high reputation amongst the Hussites. Lenfant describes him as a man of deep learning, who particularly employed himself in explaining the obscure passages in Wickliffe's writings. The Roman Catholic author Cochleus gives the following account of him :—
 "Petrus Payne, ingeniosus magister Oxoniensis, qui articulos Wiclephi et libros ejus punctatim et seriatim deduxit, et suis opusculis pestiferis imposuit, arte inferiores sed veneno pervicaciores : quæ Wicleph obscure posuit, iste explanavit : ipse suo pravo ingenio non solum erat Wiclephi errorum doctor, sed approbator et auctor, augmentator et promulgator, hujus purissimi regni Bohemiæ primarius et perniciosissimus infector et destructor. Taboritis maxime favebat, sectator Wiclephi obstinatissimus, Pragæ, cum libris ejus, profugit." Cochleus is not correct in calling Payne *primarius infector* of Bohemia, because, as I have already mentioned, the opinions of Wickliffe were promulgated there many years before the arrival of Payne. He is supposed to have died at Prague in 1455.

was already advanced in years, and of an irresolute character. The Bohemians offered to him their crown, on condition of accepting the four articles proclaimed by the diet of Czaslaw, and supported their proposition by strong arguments in its favour. They urged the community of origin and the great similarity of language* which united them with the Poles. They represented the immense political advantages which would accrue to both the countries from a union of their crowns upon one head, as it would create a most powerful Slavonic empire, extending from the Elbe to the Black Sea and the vicinity of Moscow,† and effectively oppose the hostility of the Germans, which had been experienced not only by Bohemia, but also by Poland, particularly from the German order, always supported by the emperors. The Bohemian delegates were received with great kindness; but the king was undecided as to the course which he should adopt. The advantages

* The similarity between the Bohemian and Polish languages, which is very great now, was still greater at that time. The author has read several Hussite productions, which, with the exception of some very few words, may be understood by every Pole, as easily as if they were composed in his own language.

† The frontier of Lithuania, which became united with Poland by the accession of Jaguillon to the throne of the latter country, extended, in the fifteenth century, on the east to the river Oogra, not far from Kaluga, and included the town of Viazma, situated about a hundred and fifty English miles from Moscow. On the south it reached the shores of the Black Sea, between the mouths of the Dnieper and the Dniester.

offered by the Bohemians were too great to be rejected altogether, but there were also great difficulties in the way of their acceptance. It was opposed by the clergy, whose influence was great in the senate; and the idea of becoming the head of a heresy terrified the aged monarch, although by no means a bigot. He finally declared that he would consult upon this important subject his cousin the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Vitold; and he sent for that purpose an embassy to him, accompanied by two Bohemian delegates, whilst the others remained in Poland, treated in the best manner, but living in a secluded town, because the ecclesiastical authority declared every place in a state of interdict where the Hussites were staying. Vitold was a character entirely opposed to that of Jaguillon. He was bold, ambitious, and enterprising, and not to be deterred from prosecuting a scheme of aggrandisement by religious scruples, as he frankly confessed that he understood very little about those matters. Although he held only a kind of delegated sovereignty over Lithuania, he ruled that country with an absolute power, acting with a perfect independence in all its internal and external relations. He would probably, notwithstanding his great age, have accepted the crown of Bohemia, which was then offered to him by the Hussite delegates, if the distance which separated his dominions from that country had not prevented him from taking effective measures to secure the proffered dignity; particularly as the greatest part of his subjects followed the

Greek Church, and would therefore willingly support the Hussites against the Latins. He seems also to have advised his royal cousin of Poland not to accept the offer, as the opposition of the Roman Catholic clergy of that country would have marred the execution of such a scheme. They resolved, however, not to abandon the Bohemians, and sent to their assistance Coributt, a nephew of the king, with five thousand cavalry and a sum of money.

Coributt entered Prague at the head of his troops, and was received with great joy. The forces which he brought to the assistance of the Hussites were not numerous, although not inconsiderable for that time, when standing armies had not yet been introduced; but the moral support given to the cause of the Hussites by this event was very great. They had hitherto been the object of the universal hatred of the surrounding populations, who regarded them as the enemies of God; and now they received proof of an active sympathy from a cognate nation, whose sovereign, although remaining in the Roman Catholic Church, acknowledged their rights by an act which gave just reason to hope that he would finally make their cause his own. The Poles were, indeed, the only nation who had supported the Hussites against the united forces of Rome and Germany, because a great number of them had, even before the arrival of Coributt, joined the standard of their ancient companion in arms, Ziska.

If the arrival of Coributt was a cause of joy to the Hussites, it could not but be a cause of

alarm to the adherents of the Emperor Sigismund. They spread the most unfavourable and absurd reports against him, as, for instance, that he was not baptized in the name of the Trinity, because he was a *Russian*, and an enemy to the Christian name. This was said on account of his being educated in the Greek Church,*—a circumstance which, on the contrary, was favourable to him, as it allowed him, without any scruple, to receive the communion of two kinds, upon the use of which the Hussites particularly insisted. A strong party wished to elect him King of Bohemia; but he had not the extraordinary abilities which were required in a man for maintaining himself at the head of a country so disturbed as Bohemia then was.

A numerous German army invaded Bohemia soon after the arrival of Coributt, but was completely defeated. Ziska, who had been continually engaged with the imperialists, disapproved of the idea of placing Coributt at the head of the country, declaring that he would not submit to any foreigner, and that a free nation needed not a king. This led to a quarrel between him and the towns which had formed a league, and desired to elect Coributt king of their country. A domestic war ensued, and Ziska was marching on Prague; but his soldiers were adverse to the destruction of their own capital; peace was concluded, and Ziska entered Prague as a friend, and acknowledged Coributt regent of Bohemia. He then marched

* *Vide* Greek Church of Poland, in the fourth lecture.

with Coributt to Moravia, a part of which had been occupied by the imperialists, but died on the 11th October 1424, from the plague, near the town of Przybislav, which he was besieging.*

I have related (p. 69) the story of this extraordinary man previously to the beginning of the Hussite war; but the limits of this work permit me not to give any details about the battles which he won, and the extraordinary feats, not only of courage, but of military skill, which he displayed on the most difficult occasions, notwithstanding his complete blindness. Cochleus, who most cordially hated him, regards him, however, as the greatest general that ever lived, considering that, notwithstanding the loss of his eyes, he had gained many battles, and never lost a single one; and that he taught the art of war to peasants who never had been fighting before. The contemporary writer Eneas Sylvius gives a detailed account of the new tactics which he invented, by oppos-

* There was a story current, that on his death-bed he ordered a drum to be made of his skin, as he was sure that its sound would terrify the enemy; and his body to be exposed as a prey to wild animals and birds, for he would be rather devoured by them than by worms; and that this request was complied with. There was even at Prague an old drum which it was pretended had been made of Ziska's skin; but when it was taken by the Prussians at the capture of Prague by Frederick the Second in 1744, the Bohemians declared that there was no foundation for this tradition; and, indeed, the whole story is a most absurd invention, and not to be found in contemporary writers.

ing to the charges of the heavily-armed German cavalry, moving walls formed of waggons,—tactics by which the Bohemians gained many victories, not only under his command, but also after his death.* He left a military code, containing regulations about the order and discipline of an army during war, about the manner of pitching a camp, marching against the enemy, sharing the booty, punishing deserters, &c. &c.

As much as he was cruel towards his enemies, so kind was he to his soldiers, whom he called his brethren, and was addressed by them as a brother; and he shared amongst them all the booty, of which great abundance was frequently taken. When he lost his remaining eye† he was always conducted in a car close to the principal standard of his army; and everything which related to the locality of the place, the force and position of the enemy, &c., being related to him by officers, who would be now called aides-de-camp, he gave his orders accordingly. It is

* The employment of waggons for making a kind of moving ramparts, or, as they are now called, barricades, is common to all the nomadic nations of central and northern Asia; and it is undoubtedly one of the most natural and primitive modes of defence. It was often used by the Poles, who called it Tabor; and it is probable that they had borrowed it from the Tahtars, with whom they frequently warred. I am inclined to believe that Ziska, who served a long time in Poland, had first learnt in that country this mode of warfare, which he afterwards brought to such a high degree of perfection.

† He lost his first eye when a boy, by an accident at play with other children.

particularly remarkable that, though in such a condition, he performed most skilful strategic movements, and in the most difficult localities, with a rapidity and success which have perhaps no parallel in the history of modern warfare.

Balbinus relates that he had seen Ziska's picture of a natural size, and made during his lifetime, copies of which were carefully preserved by several gentlemen of Bohemia. According to this picture, he was of a middle size and of a strong make; he had a broad chest and shoulders, a large head of a round shape, and an aquiline nose. He was dressed in the Polish costume, had a moustache in the Polish manner; his head was shaved, with the exception of a tuft of brown hair, which was also a fashion of Poland, in the service of which country he spent, as I have said, many years of his life.

Ziska was buried in the Cathedral Church of Czaslaw, where a monument of marble, with his effigy upon it, and several Latin inscriptions, were erected to him; and his iron mace* suspended over it.

* Balbinus relates, that when the Emperor Ferdinand the First was passing through Czaslaw, he went to visit the Cathedral, and was struck by the sight of a large mace of iron, which was suspended over a sepulchral monument. He asked his courtiers what it was, but none of them dared to answer. At last one of the bystanders told him that it was Ziska's. "Fie, fie," said the emperor; "this wicked beast, although dead for more than a century, still frightens living people;" upon which he immediately left the Cathedral, and would no longer stop at Czaslaw, where he had before intended to spend the night.

It is impossible to ascertain the precise nature of the religious tenets which he professed. He was at least politically the chief of the Taborites, whose tenets were the same as those of the Waldensians, and which were particularly developed by the Wickliffite Peter Payne, whom I have mentioned (p. 87); and yet it is said that he destroyed in the most barbarous manner a considerable number of *Picards*, a name which was often given by Roman Catholic writers to the Waldensians, Taborites, and afterwards to their descendants the Bohemian brethren. I think, however, that the evidence of Eneas Sylvius clearly proves that the Picards persecuted by Ziska were an extravagant sect arrived from France, which had nothing in common with the Waldensians or Taborites, to whom the appellation of Picards was given by their enemies as a term of contumely; and that the punishment inflicted by Ziska upon the last-named sectarians was but a just retaliation of their crimes and acts of violence committed against others.*

* Eneas Sylvius relates, that about the year 1418 a certain Picard (native of Picardy in France) arrived in Bohemia, where by his tricks he collected a considerable number of men and women, whom he ordered to go naked, and called them Adamites. He pretended to be the son of God, and ordered his disciples to call him Adam. He established himself with his followers on an island formed by the river Lusinitz, and introduced amongst them the community of women. He maintained that the whole of mankind were slaves, with the exception of himself and his sect. One day forty of these sectarians issued from their island, and, attacking some villages in the neighbourhood, killed more than two hundred peasants. Ziska hav-

It is curious, however, that a permanent mass for the repose of his soul was established in the place of his burial, and performed by a Calixtine priest. He had been, however, for some time politically opposed to the Calixtines, who composed the party of Prague, and, as I have mentioned, actually at war with them. From all this it may be inferred, that this rough warrior,—who seems to have taken up arms against Rome, not on account of a dogmatic cause, but simply to avenge the national honour of Bohemia, which he regarded as offended by the execution of Huss,—had no fixed principles of belief. The only thing certain is, that he considered the communion of two kinds as the most essential point of religion, as he adopted for his badge its emblem, the chalice, with which he adorned his standards, and even took its name for his signature.*

The sudden death of Ziska produced a great consternation amongst his army, which divided

ing learnt it, surrounded the island upon which the Adamites had established themselves, and killed them all, with the exception of two, whom he spared, in order to know what kind of superstition theirs was. It is therefore evident that Ziska exterminated the Adamites, not on account of their dogma, of which he knew nothing, but for the murders which they committed. There is, however, another circumstance which it is more difficult to explain, namely, that he ordered, or at least permitted, to be burnt, a priest called Loquis, who denied the dogma of transubstantiation,—an opinion which was shared by the Taborites.

* His signature was *Bratr Jan z Kalicha*, Brother John of the Chalice.

into three parties. One of them retained the name of Taborites, and chose for their chief Procop *Holy*, i. e. the Tonsured, whom Ziska had pointed out as his successor. The second declared that they would have no commander, as there was not in the world a man worthy to succeed Ziska; and took, on that account, the name of Orphans. These Orphans elected, however, some chiefs to command them; and they always remained in their camps fortified by waggon, and never went into town except on some unavoidable business, as, for instance, to purchase victuals. The third party were the *Orebites*, who had taken this name from a mountain upon which they had assembled for the first time, and to which they probably had given the biblical appellation of Horeb on that occasion. They always followed the standards of Ziska, with the Taborites, but now chose separate leaders. Yet although the Hussites were thus divided into several parties, they always united whenever it was necessary to defend their country, which they called the *Land of Promise*, giving to the adjacent German provinces the names of Edom, Moab, Amalek, and the country of the Philistines.

Procop has not such celebrity as Ziska, although I think he deserves in history a place superior to that of the formidable blind warrior. The cause of this may perhaps be ascribed to the circumstance that Ziska was the first mover of that terrible war which was continued after his death with a no less brilliant success by Procop, until his heroic fall on the battle-field of

Lipan. Not inferior in valour and military skill to his predecessor, Procop was also an accomplished scholar. But what places him far above Ziska is, that he was a much better patriot than the ambitious leader to whom he succeeded ; because, whilst Ziska thought of nothing but revenge against all those who opposed him, and recommended on his death-bed to Procop that he should exterminate with fire and sword all the adversaries of his religion, the latter had incessantly at heart the restoration of peace to his country, notwithstanding his continual triumphs over its enemies.

Procop was the son of a noble without fortune. He was adopted by his maternal uncle, who gave him a learned education, and made him travel in Italy, France, Spain, and the Holy Land. After his return from these travels, it is said that his uncle induced him to enter the Church against his own inclination ; and it was on that account that he was nicknamed the *Tonsured*. When the Hussite war broke out, he left the Church for the army, and attached himself to Ziska, who attested his high opinion of him by appointing him his successor. His exploits afterwards earned for him the surname of *Great*, by which he was also distinguished from another Procop, a leader of the Orphans, and known under the name of *Prokepek*, i. e. little Procop.

War continued, and the Hussites made frequent and successful inroads into different German provinces adjacent to their country. The emperor and the princes of Germany accused the

Pope and the clergy of all this mischief, saying that it was their duty to extinguish a flame which was kindled by the priests. They moreover complained that the clergy, who enjoyed immense possessions, employed not their wealth for the above-mentioned purpose, but only for the sake of enriching their relatives. The Pope sent letters to the emperor, the King of Poland, and the princes of Germany; exhorting them to unite their forces in a new expedition against Bohemia. In these letters he represented the Hussites as worse enemies of Christianity than the Turks; because the latter, being born out of the Church, did not commit an act of rebellion in making war on the Christians, which was the case with the Hussites, who, being born within its pale, had revolted against its authority.

The representations of the Pope, and the solicitations of the clergy, induced the King of Poland to recall his nephew from Bohemia; but Coributtsoon returned to Prague, where he had a strong party. The king, in order to prove that this was done against his will, sent an army of five thousand men to assist the imperialists; but the latter being afraid, and, I believe, not without good reason, that the Poles, instead of fighting, would join the Hussites, sent them back before they had reached the place of their destination. The princes of Germany were not very eager to obey the papal summons; but as their own country was exposed to frequent inroads of the Hussites, they at last collected an army of about a hundred thousand picked men, and marched into Bohemia. The Huss-

ites of all parties united, in order to meet this danger. The Taborites and Orphans were commanded by Procop the Great, and the Calixtines by Coributt and some Bohemian noblemen. The Hussites besieged the town of Aussig, which may be known to many of my readers who have travelled over that beautiful country through which the road that leads from Dresden to Toplitz passes. There, on the confines of the Slavonic and German worlds, met the armies which represented not only hostile creeds, but also hostile races ; and it has been observed, that in that conflict between the Slavonians and Germans the arms employed on both sides were peculiar to each race. The mailed warriors of Germany were armed, in the usual manner of the west, with lances, swords, and battle-axes, and mounted upon heavy powerful horses. The Bohemians, with their few Polish auxiliaries, were entrenched by five hundred waggons, strongly chained together, behind which they stood, covered by their large wooden shields, stuck into the ground ; and their principal arms were, besides the iron flails, the celebrated weapon of the Hussite, long lances, provided with strong hooks, by which they could easily pull down the enemy from their horses.* They were much inferior

* It must be remembered, that the battle took place at a time when the use of fire-arms was not yet common, and individual strength and courage was of much greater importance than they have been since the general introduction of these arms, and particularly of artillery.

in numbers to their enemies, but superior in spirit, because, elated by a long series of successes, they believed themselves invincible.

The Germans charged the Bohemians with the greatest impetuosity: they broke through the line of their waggons, cutting asunder with battle-axes the chains with which they were fastened; and even succeeded in throwing down the second line of defence which the Bohemians had formed with their shields. But the Germans had been much fatigued, before the commencement of the battle, by a long march on a very hot day; and the efforts which they had made in breaking through their enemies' defences exhausted still more their men and horses. The eagle eye of Procop seized that moment; and the Hussites, who, having encamped on the spot for several days, were perfectly fresh, and had hitherto remained on the defensive, furiously rushed upon their half-exhausted assailants. The heavily-armed cavaliers were torn down from their horses by the hooked lances of the Hussites, or precipitated by the stunning blows of their iron flails, which did not less terrible execution amongst the lansquenets, whose pikes were but of little avail against that formidable weapon. The battle lasted from morning to evening. The Germans fought with great valour, but, notwithstanding the superiority of their numbers, the courage, the skill, and the advantage of the position decided the victory in favour of the Bohemians. The rout of the Germans was complete, their slaughter tremendous, the booty taken from

them immense. Their principal chiefs perished on that occasion. But great as were the material advantages which the Hussites obtained on that day (16th June 1426), its moral consequences were still greater, because they acquired the prestige of being invincible. They did not remain idle after this brilliant victory, but invaded Austria under Procop and Coributt, whilst other bands ravaged other provinces of the German empire.

Not long after these events, Coributt was deposed by the party of the Calixtines from his dignity of regent of the kingdom, and even confined in a tower at Prague. He was liberated by the Taborites and Orphans, and went with their deputies to Cracow, in order to induce his uncle, the King of Poland, to take the part of the Hussites. The delegates had public disputations about religion with the doctors of the University of Cracow, but the bishop of that place ordered divine service to be suspended as long as the heretics should remain within its walls, which exasperated Coributt in such a manner, that, in the presence of his royal uncle, he menaced the bishop with his vengeance, saying, that he would not spare even St Stanislaus, the patron saint of the country; a circumstance which proves that he adhered to the opinions of the Taborites.*

* Coributt seems to have then remained in Poland ; but he revisited Bohemia in 1430, and joined the party of the Orphans, with whom he made some adventurous expeditions into Silesia and Lusatia. He finally returned to

The Pope, despairing to find in Germany a man capable of reducing the Hussites, turned his eyes towards a more distant land, whose arms had then acquired great reputation by their success in France. He chose for this purpose an individual well known in the history of England, Henry Beaufort, the great Bishop of Winchester, whom he had recently created a cardinal, and whom he now appointed his legate *à latere* in Germany, Hungary, and Bohemia, by a bull dated February 16, 1427. The task of conquering and converting such dauntless warriors and obstinate heretics as the Hussites, was indeed an object worthy of the ambition of a Plantagenet,* and Beaufort accepted this perilous mission. He published the papal crusade in his diocese; but as his countrymen had then enough to do in France, and needed not to seek a new field for the exercise of their valour in the distant lands of Bohemia, he at once proceeded to Germany for the accomplishment of his object. From Malines he informed the Pope of his voyage, who wrote him a letter of thanks, urging him at the same time vigorously to prosecute his undertaking. Beaufort's success was marvellous; and perhaps during the three centuries which had elapsed since the time when the

Poland; and is the ancestor of the princely family of Wyszniowiecki, now extinct; but a member of which, Michael, became King of Poland in 1669.

* Henry Beaufort was son of John of Gaunt, by Catherine Swynford.

cry of *Dieux le volt*, issuing from Clermont, thrilled every heart in western Europe, a more powerful and rapid effect had never been produced than that which his summons obtained in Germany. The whole of that country seemed to rise at his voice; and armed bands from the banks of the Rhine and those of the Elbe, the wealthy citizens of the Hanseatic towns and the hardy mountaineers of the Alps, hastened to join the standard of the church militant displayed by its English champion, who thus found himself at the head of a force which, according to the evidence of contemporary writers, amounted to ninety thousand horsemen, and about the same number of infantry.

This immense army, commanded under Beaufort by three electors and a great number of princes and counts of the empire, entered Bohemia in June 1427, in three divisions, and encamped at Eger, Kommotau, and Taush. The danger of this formidable invasion roused the patriotic feelings of every Bohemian, from the high-born magnate to the poorest mechanic. Religious differences were forgotten. Not only the Calixtines, Taborites, and Orphans forsook all their differences, and united against the common enemy, but many Roman Catholic noblemen, who had hitherto been the staunchest opponents of the Hussites, felt that the voice of their country was stronger in their hearts than even the religious animosity; and they joined the banner of the great Procop against the foreign invaders.

The united forces of the Bohemians were still

greatly inferior in numbers to those of their enemies, who began their operations by laying siege to the town of Miess. They marched to encounter the crusaders; but when they arrived on the banks of the river Miess, which separated them from the invading army, their sight struck the latter with such a panic, that they all ran away without even attempting to strike a blow.* Beaufort, after having vainly endeavoured to rally the fugitives, was himself carried away by the wild flight of his crusaders, and was joined by the Elector of Treves, who had been marching to his assistance with a body of cavalry. The Bohemians closely pursued the flying enemy, killing and taking a great number of them, almost without any loss to themselves. A great number of these unfortunate fugitives were killed by the Bohemian peasants, who chased them like as many wild beasts. The booty which fell into the hands of the victors was enormous,—great and little had a large share of it; and it is said that several families of Bohemia had laid on that day the foundation of their present fortunes.†

* The contemporary author Eneas Silvius says, that the crusaders ran away even before the Bohemians were in sight.

† It is strange that this event, which is described by all ecclesiastical historians, has escaped the attention of such an accomplished writer as Lingard, who, speaking of Beaufort, says that he had raised a small army for the chimerical purpose of combating the Hussites (*History of England*, vol. viii. p. 88, fourth edition), and seems not to have known that this chimerical purpose had been put into execution.

The Pope wrote a long letter of condolence, dated 2d October 1427, to Beaufort, on the disgraceful *retreat of the faithful* from Bohemia, and exhorted him to renew his efforts in the same cause ; but the English warrior prelate seems to have had quite enough of the Bohemian heretics, and did not again interfere in their affairs. The patriotic conduct of the Bohemian Roman Catholics on that occasion seems to have produced a spirit of conciliation amongst the religious parties in Bohemia. A truce between the Hussites and the Roman Catholics was concluded for six months, at the termination of which a public conference between the opposite parties, in order to settle their theological differences, was appointed. On learning this news, the Pope addressed a letter to the Archbishop of Olmutz, urging him to prevent a conference *by which nothing could be gained, and much might be lost*. The conference, however, did take place : it did not produce any effect upon the religious views of the parties, but it led to the prolongation of the truce between them.

The Emperor Sigismund tried again to obtain by negotiation what he despaired of accomplishing by force of arms. He sent, in 1428, an embassy to the Taborites and Orphans, representing to them his claim to the Bohemian throne, and offering them favourable conditions. The imperial ambassadors were heard at Kuttenberg, but received the answer, that Sigismund had forfeited his rights by the immense bloodshed caused through his wars and crusades against Bohemia, and the insult which he had

offered to the Bohemians by the execution of John Huss and Jerome of Prague. Procop, who was not present on that occasion, thought, however, that it was a good opportunity for terminating that bloody war which had already desolated his country for nearly ten years. He requested the ambassadors to pay him a visit at Tabor, where he had then his head-quarters, and expressed to them his wish to pacify the country. The ambassadors must have been pleased with the propositions of Procop, because they gave him a safe-conduct to go to Austria with a small retinue, in order to have an interview with the emperor himself; and Procop repaired to the imperial court. "There was the fairest hope of obtaining peace," says Balbinus, "but the emperor would make no concession, and Procop returned with the satisfaction of having offered it." He was not disheartened by this unsuccessful attempt; and next year, 1429, he prevailed upon the Bohemian diet, assembled at Prague, to accept Sigismund, if he would receive the Scriptures and follow their precepts, take the communion of two kinds, and agree to all the demands of the Bohemians. Negotiations were opened with the emperor, who assembled a diet at Presburg, whither a Bohemian deputation, headed by Procop, repaired. The conference between the Bohemians and the imperial council lasted a whole week; and the deputation returned to Prague, in order to give a report of their proceedings. The authors who have written on this subject do not say what was the result of the con-

ference at Presburg, but only that, when the accommodation with Sigismund was debated at the diet of Prague, it was rejected, notwithstanding that it had many partizans in that assembly. It is, however, scarcely possible to doubt, that the emperor either would not make the demanded concessions, or would not give a sufficient security for their maintenance. Be this as it may, the Hussites of all parties accepted with great enthusiasm the proposition of Procop to invade Germany. He entered that country, and spread desolation over Saxony, to the very gates of Magdeburg, Brandenburg, and Lusatia, returning to Bohemia with an immense booty. This circumstance attracted crowds to his standard; and next year, 1430, he mustered on the fields of Weisenberg an army of fifty-two thousand infantry, twenty thousand cavalry, and three thousand waggons, drawn each by twelve or fourteen horses. With this army he ravaged Saxony and Franconia, to the vicinity of the river Mein. About a hundred towns and castles were converted into as many heaps of ruins; and the waggons of the expedition were scarcely sufficient to contain the booty taken by the Bohemians, who received, besides, large sums of money, paid them by several princes, bishops, and towns, as a ransom to prevent pillage and destruction.*

These successful invasions of the Hussites

* The Bishop of Bamberg paid them nine thousand ducats, and the town of Nuremberg ten thousand, which was enormous before the discovery of America. Similar ran-

filled Rome and Germany with consternation. The emperor assembled a diet of the empire at Nuremberg, where it was resolved to attempt a new expedition against Bohemia; and the Pope proclaimed, through his legate the celebrated Cardinal Julian Cesarini, a crusade against the heretics. The bull which was published for this purpose granted a plenary indulgence to all those who would take the cross themselves, or send, at their expense, others to join the crusade. It remitted sixty days of the pains of purgatory to all, men and women, who would pray and fast for the happy issue of the expedition. Confessors belonging to the regular and secular clergy were appointed to hear the confessions of the crusaders, and ordered to give them absolution, if they had been guilty of violence against priests and monks, had burned churches, and committed other sacrileges, and to do it even in the cases reserved for the apostolic see. All those who had made a vow to go on a pilgrimage to Rome, Compostella, or elsewhere, were released from it, on condition that they should give the money which they would have expended on their pilgrimage for the support of the crusade. The confessors were not to take more than half a Bohemian penny for shriving a crusader, and never to ask even for this small fee, if it was not spontaneously offered.

The allurements of these spiritual advantages

soms were paid by the Elector of Brandenburg, the Duke of Bavaria, the Margrave of Anspach, the Bishop of Salzburg, &c.

were considerably increased by the prospect of gains of a more substantial and tangible nature. The immense booty which the successive unsuccessful German invasions had left in Bohemia, and which had been imported by the devastating expeditions with which her sons had retaliated those invasions, accumulated in that country an enormous wealth. A crusade against Bohemia presented, therefore, a splendid opportunity to all classes of Germany, from the prince to the meanest boor, to get rid at once of all their spiritual and material incumbrances, to obtain the remission of their sins without submitting to a long and severe penance, or purchasing the same boon by large donations to the Church; and, at the same time, to redeem their broken fortunes, or to make new ones. In short, it was what many people would now call a *capital speculation*; it proved, however,—to use the language of the present day,—a *mere bubble*. There were, besides, other causes of a less material nature, but not less calculated to promote a crusade against Bohemia. The stain which the victories of the Bohemians had inflicted upon the long-established reputation of the arms of Germany, naturally excited, in every generous heart of that country, a strong desire to wipe it off by some deed of valour; and the smoking ruins of so many towns and castles, which marked the passage of the Hussites through many flourishing provinces of the same country, animated all its inhabitants with a strong feeling of revenge against the authors of those calamities.

The crusaders began, therefore, to assemble

at Nuremberg from all parts of Germany ; but the emperor tried once more to negotiate with the Bohemians. The proposition which he made to them for that purpose being accepted, a deputation, composed of the representatives of all parties of Bohemia, repaired to his court in the town of Eger. The negotiations lasted for a fortnight; but as the emperor would not make any sincere concession, and the Bohemians knew that the crusade against them was meanwhile preparing, they withdrew from the conference, protesting that it was not their fault if this terrible war was not terminated by a just peace. The Bohemians now prepared for a vigorous defence of their country. All parties, not even excepting the Roman Catholics, united against their common enemy, rallying under the banner of the great Procop, who mustered under the walls of Chotieschow an army composed of fifty thousand infantry, seven thousand horsemen, chosen troops, and three thousand waggon, the indispensable implements of a Bohemian warfare.

The crusaders, whose number amounted to ninety thousand infantry and forty thousand cavalry, commanded, under the legate Cesarini, by the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, the Duke of Bavaria, and many other spiritual and temporal princes of Germany, entered Bohemia through the great forest which covered its frontier on the Bavarian side. The scouts whom they had sent to explore the position and force of the Bohemians, deceived by the skilful manœuvres of Procop, as well as by the false

intelligence which was given them on purpose by the inhabitants of the country, reported that the Bohemians, having quarrelled amongst themselves, were flying in all directions before the invading army. The crusaders advanced without opposition as far as the town of Taush, and laid siege to it; but after a few days Procop appeared with the Taborites and Orphans, and put the beleaguering troops to flight. The crusaders spread about the country; but, after having ravaged it with fire and sword, they rallied at Riesenbergh, where they occupied a strong position. They, however, soon learnt that the pretended division amongst the Bohemians was nothing more than a feint; and that, on the contrary, they were gathering from all sides against their enemies. The effect of this intelligence upon the crusaders of Cesarini was the same as similar circumstances had produced upon those of Beaufort. The Duke of Bavaria was the first to flee, leaving his equipage in order that its pillage might delay the pursuit of the enemy; his example was followed by the Elector of Brandenburg and the whole army. The only man who made an exception to this general panic was not a soldier, but a priest, the cardinal himself. He harangued his troops with the greatest spirit, representing to them the disgrace which their conduct was entailing upon their country, and that their pagan ancestors had fought for their mute idols with much more glory than they, their descendants, did for the sake of Christ. He entreated them to remember the ancient heroes of their race,—the

Ariovists, the Tuiscons, and the Arminiuses,—and represented to them that they had a much better chance of escaping death by confronting the enemy in a manly way, than by shamefully turning their backs upon him, as they were sure to be overtaken and slain. Whether it was the recollection of the ancestral glories of their race, or the sense of their own safety, which gave the greatest weight to the words which the Cardinal addressed to his flying crusaders, I don't know, but he succeeded in rallying them, and they again occupied the strong position of Riesen-berg, resolved to encounter the approaching enemy. This resolve was not, however, of long duration; for as soon as the Bohemians appeared, the crusaders were seized with such a terror, that Cesarini could no longer arrest their flight, but was himself obliged to join in it. Eleven thousand Germans are said to have perished on that occasion, and only seven hundred were taken prisoners. Two hundred and forty waggons, of which some were laden with gold and silver, and many, as a chronicler quaintly observes, with excellent wine, fell into the hands of the Bohemians, who also took the enemy's artillery, consisting of fifty cannons.* Cesarini lost on that occasion his cardinal's hat and dress, his cross and his bell, as well as the papal bull proclaiming the crusade which ended in so inglorious a manner.

The extraordinary panic which on this occasion seized so warlike a nation as the Ger-

* Some writers say one hundred and fifty.

mans, and twice made their numerous armies fly at the very sight of the Bohemians, was the theme of much comment to the authors of that nation. And, indeed, nobody ever doubted the valour of the Germans, which they have displayed on so many occasions before and since the war of the Hussites. This circumstance proves, perhaps better than any other example on record, that even in a physical contest moral agency is superior to mere brute force;—that a small nation combating *pro aris et focis*,—for its altars and hearths,—and inspired with an implicit belief in the justice of its cause, and in its final success, may overcome the most numerous and best disciplined armies, which, being deficient in similar inspirations, are generally soon disheartened even by a temporary want of success. The Spaniards are wont to say of a man, that he was, and not that he is, brave; meaning thereby that one and the same individual may behave with the greatest gallantry on one occasion, and act differently upon another. The truth of this observation has been admitted on all hands; and what is true of one individual cannot be false when applied to a number of them,—to a whole nation,—with this additional circumstance, that a collective body is even more subject than a single individual to the temporary effects of enthusiasm and depression. History abounds with examples illustrative of this truth; and it will be my melancholy task to describe the prostration, under the withering influence of Austrian and Romish despotism, of that national spirit of Bohemia which had

developed such gigantic energy during the Hussite war. And, indeed, without searching the pages of history, we may see in the present day splendid instances of a revival of the national spirit, in places where it had apparently been long extinct,—instances which cannot but fill with heartfelt joy the breasts of every friend of the liberty of mankind and of the dignity of human nature. Rome, whose glory seemed to be buried for ever in the sepulchral urns of her ancient heroes, has shown, by the noble stand which she has made against the unwarrantable invasion of modern Gaul, that the spirit of Camillus, which for centuries had been lying dormant under the ruins of the eternal city, has now revived in its gallant defenders. And Venice, beautiful Venice, who, after centuries of high renown, ingloriously fell without striking a single blow for her independence, has displayed, in her admirable resistance to the foreign oppressors of Italy, a patriotism worthy of the palmy days of her Dandolos, Zenos, and Pisanis, and which, although it has not succeeded in restoring the departed glories of the widowed Queen of the Adria, will shed upon them as bright a light as that which illumines the most splendid page of her romantic history, "*the war of the Chiozza*."* These considerations cannot but inspire a just hope, that, notwithstanding the dark clouds which are now lowering over the horizon of fair Italy, her sons will soon be able to secure to her all the blessings of religious

* In 1378-81.

and civil liberty, and that she will again become the

*“Magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus
Magna virum.”*

The miserable issue of Cesarini's crusade put a stop to all future attempts at invading Bohemia; but the Taborites and Orphans continued their invasions of the imperial provinces, and the two Procops penetrated into Hungary, where, notwithstanding the gallant defence of the inhabitants, they committed great devastations. It was therefore resolved by the emperor and the Council, which had then just assembled at Bale, to obtain by concession what it was impossible to accomplish by force. In consequence of this resolution, the emperor and Cardinal Cesarini addressed to the Hussites letters, couched in the most affectionate terms, inviting them to a conference on religious subjects at Bale, and granting them liberty of performing Divine service according to their own rites during their residence in the above-mentioned city. After a protracted negotiation, the Hussites accepted this proposal, and sent to Bale a deputation composed of priests belonging to their different parties, and which were chosen for this purpose by the rector of the University of Prague, as well as several lay delegates, who were headed by the great Procop.

They were joined by a Polish ambassador; and this new proof of the interest of a cognate nation, probably a consequence of the embassies which the Hussites had sent in 1431 and 1432

to Poland, but the particulars of which I shall relate in speaking of that country, was much valued by Procop. The Hussite deputation, composed of three hundred persons, arrived at Bale on the 6th January 1433; and Eneas Sylvius, who was present on that occasion, gives the following description of their entrance:—

“The whole population of Bale was either in the streets, or went out of town to see their arrival. There were amongst the crowd even several members of the Council, attracted by the fame of such a warlike nation. Men, women, and children, people of every age and condition, filled the public places, occupied the doors and the windows, and even the tops of the houses, waiting for their arrival. The spectators gazed upon the Bohemians, pointing with their fingers to those who had in particular attracted their attention, and wondering at their foreign dress, never seen before; at their terrible countenances, their eyes full of fury; and it was generally found that the report about their character was by no means exaggerated.* All eyes were turned towards Procop. ‘This is the man,’ people were saying, ‘who has so many times put to flight the armies of the faithful, who has destroyed so many cities, who has massacred so many thousands; the man who is as much dreaded by his own people as by his enemies; the invincible, the valiant, the fearless, the indefatigable general.’ ”

* There was at that time a saying current in Germany, that there were a hundred demons in every Hussite.

The Hussite delegates were instructed by those who sent them simply to insist upon the four articles, which had ever been the point upon which all their negotiations for the restoration of peace hinged; and they refused to enter into any discussion of the dogmatic articles proclaimed either by Huss or Wickliffe, and which had been proposed to them by the fathers of the Council. And, indeed, if the first of the above-mentioned four articles, namely, the unlimited freedom of preaching the Word of God, had been conceded, its immediate consequence, the free expounding of the Scriptures,—the fundamental principle of Protestantism,—would have been at once attained. The disputation between the Hussites and the fathers of the Church were therefore confined to these four articles. The first of them, *i. e.* the freedom of preaching the Word of God, was defended by the priest of the Orphans, Ulric, against Henry Kalteisen, doctor of divinity; the second, the communion of two kinds, by John of Rokiczan against John of Ragusa, general of the order of St Dominic, and afterwards cardinal; the third, that the clergy should not possess worldly goods, by the Englishman Peter Payne, against John de Polemar, archdean of Barcelona; and the fourth, the punishment of crimes without any regard to the persons who had committed them, *i. e.* the clergy, by the Taborite priest Nicholas Peldrzymowski, against Gilles Charlier, professor of divinity and dean of Cambray. The Bohemians were tired by the long speeches of their antagonists, but not in the least convinced.

Cardinal Cesarini took occasionally a part in those discussions, and was generally met by Procop, who on these occasions wielded arguments with as much dexterity and success as on others he did the sword, as may be seen by the following instance:—The Bohemian delegates having refused, as I have said, to discuss any other subject than the four articles, declaring that they were not commissioned by their nation to enter upon other topics, the cardinal reproached them with holding many heterodox opinions, and, amongst others, that *the mendicant orders were an invention of the devil*. “’Tis true,” replied Procop, “*because, since the mendicants have not been instituted either by the patriarchs, by Moses, by the prophets, by Jesus Christ, or the apostles, what else can they be, if not an invention of the devil and a work of darkness?*” This answer produced a universal burst of laughter in the Assembly. I must not omit another anecdote relating to these conferences, and which contains an additional proof of the strength of the Slavonic affinities. John of Ragusa was a Slavonian, being a native of the city of which he had adopted the name, and which was about that time a celebrated seat of the Slavonic literature of Dalmatia. During his disputation with the Hussite delegates, he several times applied to them the expressions of heretics and heresy. This gave Procop such offence, that he exclaimed, “This man being our countryman, insults us by calling us heretics;” to which John of Ragusa rejoined, “It is because I am your countryman by nation and

language that I am so anxious to bring you back into the pale of the Church." The national feelings of the Bohemians were so much hurt by what they considered a slight, coming from one belonging to their own race, that they were on the point of retiring from the Council, so that it was only with great difficulty that they were persuaded to remain ; and several of them demanded that the Ragusan should not be permitted to take any part in the discussions.

The Hussite deputies, after a residence of about three months at Bale, returned to Bohemia, without having obtained the object of their mission. The feeling of mortal hatred which had existed between them and the Roman Catholic Church, and particularly its German members, could not, however, be but considerably softened by the courteous reception which they had met with from the Council, and the friendly intercourse which had been maintained between the two parties for so many days. The departure of the Bohemians was immediately followed by an embassy which the Council sent to their own country, in order to resume at Prague the conferences which could not be brought to an end at Bale. This embassy was received with great honours, and a diet was convened at Prague. The negotiations between that Diet and the delegates of the Council were carried on with such success, that the Bohemians consented to receive the four articles modified, or, as it was called, explained, by the Council, which solemnly confirmed them under the name of the *Compactata* ; and their

acceptance was followed by the acknowledgment of the Emperor Sigismund as legitimate king of Bohemia.

This covenant was concluded with the Council of Bale and the emperor by the Calixtines, to whom almost all the high nobility or magnates, and the principal towns of the country, belonged. They were tired of the long war, which, notwithstanding its great success, was a calamity to the majority of the inhabitants; whilst many individuals who had acquired considerable riches during that war were longing to enjoy them in peace. The Calixtines, who were a kind of high-church party, had a much greater leaning towards Rome than towards the extreme Hussites,—the Taborites, Orphans, and Orebiters. Sigismund was deservedly unpopular with the Bohemians, but he had in his favour the prestige of legitimacy; and, notwithstanding all the injuries which he had inflicted upon Bohemia, many remembered that he was the son of Charles the Third, the best monarch that ever sat on the throne of that country. The feeling of loyalty to a legitimate dynasty is, indeed, strongly implanted in the national mind of every country. It was this feeling which, notwithstanding the glorious administration of Cromwell, secured to the profligate Charles the Second such an enthusiastic reception by the British nation, and made the adherents of the Stuarts cling with such devotion to the desperate fortunes of that ill-fated dynasty. These feelings were, however, not shared by the extreme Hussites, whom I may call the

Puritans of Bohemia, and who, like those of Great Britain, inclined towards a republican form of government.

Whilst the negotiations between the Diet of Prague and the Council were pending, Czapek, the leader of the Orphans, offered his services to the king of Poland, then at war with the German order. The assistance of these inveterate heretics was gladly accepted by the Roman Catholic king and senate of Poland, notwithstanding the opposition of the clergy. The Orphans and some Taborites,* composing an army of eight thousand infantry, eight hundred horsemen, and three hundred and eighty waggons, repaired to Poland, where, having joined some Polish troops, they entered the possessions of the order,† took twelve fortified towns, and spread devastation over the whole country. The very sight of these rough warriors inspired with terror, and every one fled at the approach of the dreaded Hussites, who penetrated to the shores of the Baltic, with the waters of which they filled bottles, in order to carry them to their own country, as a sign

* Eneas Sylvius gives the following description of the appearance of the Taborites:—These men were quite black, from constant exposure to the sun and wind, as well as to the smoke of the camp. Their appearance was horrid and terrible: their eyes were those of an eagle, their hair bristled, their beards long, their stature prodigiously tall, their bodies covered with hair, and their skin so hard that it appeared capable of resisting iron as much as a cuirass.

† They form now the provinces of Western Prussia, and the new march of Brandenburg.

that the Bohemian arms had reached the shores of a distant sea.

The Orphans returned to their own country, and joined Procop, who, with the Taborites and the Orebiters, declared against the *Compactata*, or the four articles, explained by the Council, complaining that the Council was attempting by its artifices to deceive the Bohemians, and that those of them who supported the objects of the Council were betraying the interests of their country by a preposterous policy. The delegates of the Council, therefore, employed all possible means to excite the partisans of the *Compactata* against the Taborites and their allies. A league, composed of the chief nobles of the country, Calixtines as well as Roman Catholics, was formed, and their first step was to secure the possession of Prague. They succeeded without difficulty in occupying the old city, the inhabitants of which shared their opinions; but the citizens of the new town refused to submit to the league, and opposed, under the command of Procop the Little and the Taborite Kerski, the entrance of its troops. A bloody battle ensued on the 6th May 1434: the leaguers forced the new town, and expelled its defenders, who went to join the camp of Procop the Great. The party of the real Hussites* was not yet broken, although the loss which they had suffered at the defeat of Prague was very severe. Many towns still

* The Calixtines were called by the Taborites Orphans and Orebiters, the *same Hussites*.

adhered to their cause, and their united forces formed a considerable army, formidable by its spirit even more than by its numbers. Procop, who had still about thirty-six thousand fighting men, marched towards Prague, in order to take the new town; but the league brought against him a force far superior to his, and it was even joined by some of Procop's former associates. The armies met on the 29th May, on the plains of Lipan, between the towns of Bohmish Brod and Kaursim, about four German miles from Prague.

Procop wished to avoid a battle, intending, by one of those strategic movements in which he so much excelled, to get into Prague, where he had many partizans, and whence his opponents had withdrawn their forces; but the leaguers made a furious charge upon his camp, and broke its usual defence, the barricade of waggons. The Taborites, unaccustomed to see the cavalry breaking through their moveable rampart, were thrown into confusion, and fled to the other side of the camp. Procop soon rallied the fugitives; but at this critical moment Czapek, the same general who had commanded the Hussite auxiliaries in Poland, betrayed their cause, and fled with his cavalry from the field of battle. Procop, followed by his best troops, rushed into the midst of the enemy, with whom he for a long time disputed the victory, until, overwhelmed by numbers, he was slain, as well as his namesake Procop the Little, who had valiantly fought at his side.

Such was the end of the great Bohemian

leader, whose very name filled with terror the enemies of his country. The hero fell, wearied with conquering, rather than conquered himself.* These words were not said of him by a writer professing his creed and belonging to his race, but by a contemporary Roman Catholic writer (Eneas Sylvius Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius the Second), who was certainly a competent judge of his character, having personally known him during his stay at Bale. The patriotic Balbinus observes with honest pride, that Procop's death has verified the saying of the Emperor Sigismund, that the Bohemians could be overcome only by Bohemians. It was indeed a victory obtained by the Bohemians over the Bohemians, but not for the Bohemians. The battle of Lipan may be said to have ended the Hussite war, because, although some Taborite chiefs maintained for some time a kind of partizan war, it was insignificant, and easily quelled.

This war must undoubtedly be regarded as one of the most, if not the most extraordinary episode of modern history ; especially when it is considered that such a small country as Bohemia, having a population divided amongst themselves, and having no assistance from abroad, except a small number of Poles, withstood for about fifteen years the forces of the whole of Germany and Hungary, and retaliated in the most terrible manner the invasions of these enemies.

* Non tam victus quam vincendo fessus. (E. Syl. *Hist. Bohem.* cap. li.)

There is, besides, one circumstance which shows that the Bohemians had displayed during that unequal struggle not only a matchless valour, but an energy of intellect which will scarcely find its parallel elsewhere. In the midst of the turmoil of that terrible war which I have described, not only the University of Prague continued to deliver its usual courses, and to confer academical degrees, but the education of all classes of the people seems to have been amongst the Hussites very general. There are tracts on different religious subjects written during that period by common artizans, which often contain as much talent as burning zeal; and Eneas Sylvius, whom I have frequently quoted, says that every woman amongst the Taborites was thoroughly conversant with the Old and the New Testament; and he observes of the Hussites in general, whom he cordially hated, that they had only one merit, which was the love of letters.* I do not think that western Europe could have pointed out at that time a single individual who, like Procop the Great, united with such daring courage and consummate military skill a profound scholarship, which enabled him at Bale to combat in argument the doctors of the Roman Catholic Church with as much success as he opposed their armies in the field. Much has been said about the cruelties perpetrated by the Hussites, and particularly by their celebrated lead-

* *Nam perfidum genus illud hominum hoc solum boni habet, quod litteras amat. (Vide his letter to Carvajal.)*

ers Ziska and Procop; and many German writers of the present day are wont to use the expression of *Hussitic barbarity*, in order to designate everything that is cruel, barbarous, and rude. Far be it from me to justify those atrocities of which the Hussites rendered themselves guilty on so many occasions; but they were not the aggressors in that savage warfare. The responsibility of these atrocities must rest with the faithless and cruel murderers of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, with those who executed the first Hussites at Slan (page 73), who massacred the inoffensive pilgrims who were going to worship God according to the dictates of their conscience (page 77), and whose conduct towards the Hussites was no less barbarous than theirs towards their enemies. And can the Germans, as well as the other nations of western Europe, plead not guilty to the same charges of cruelty and barbarism as those which have been heaped upon the memory of the Hussites by their religious and national opponents? The evidence of history permits no such plea to be sustained for a moment. This I boldly assert; and one single instance will prove whether my assertion be true or not. And, indeed, the whole history of the Hussite wars does not present an example of greater atrocity than the massacre of Limoges, where men, women, and children were murdered, not by an infuriated soldiery, whose rage the commander is unable to restrain, but by the deliberate orders of a chief, who commanded in cold blood a multitude to be butchered, not only of

men, but innocent women and children, who in vain pleaded on their knees the treason of their superiors. And who was that chief who committed such an outrage upon religion and humanity? Was he an infidel barbarian, or a fanatic goaded to madness by the persecution of his creed and race, like Ziska and Procop? No; he was no other than that mirror of knighthood, paragon of chivalry, and theme of romance, the Black Prince of Wales.* And yet this foul stain upon his escutcheon has not darkened in the eyes of posterity the glories of Cressy and Poitiers, or of his chivalrous conduct towards the captive king of France. Many other instances of the most atrocious barbarity may be found in the annals of west-

* The Prince, the Duke of Lancaster, the Earls of Cambridge and Pembroke, Sir George d'Angle, and others, rushed into the town. You would have then seen pillagers, active to do mischief, running through the town, slaying men, women, and children, according to their orders. It was a most melancholy business, for all ranks, ages, and sexes, cast themselves on their knees before the Prince, begging for mercy; but he was so inflamed with passion and revenge, that he listened to none; but all were put to the sword wherever they could be found, even those who were not guilty; for I do not know why the poor were not spared, who could not have had any part in the treason. But they suffered for it, and, indeed, more than those who had been the leaders of the treachery. There was not that day in the city of Limoges any heart so hardened, or that had any sense of religion, who did not deeply bewail the unfortunate events passing before their eyes; for upwards of ten thousand men, women, and children were put to death that day. God have mercy upon their souls, for they were veritable martyrs." (*Froissart*, vol. ii. chap. xxi.; translated by Thomas Jones.)

ern Europe during that period ; but no impartial historian will judge the great characters of the middle ages according to the standard of morality which in our enlightened century is at least recognised, if not always followed. Though obliged to record their misdeeds, he will not withhold the meed of praise due to their noble actions ; for their misdeeds were, if I may use an expression of the great Roman orator, not the faults of the man, but the faults of the age,—*non vitia hominis, sed vitia sæculi*. Therefore we Slavonians, in contemplating the gigantic vigour which our race displayed during the Hussite war, cannot but exult in the hope that it may again bring forth characters no less energetic than those which marked that eventful period, and that their career shall be productive, not of destruction and suffering, but of blessings and happiness, to mankind ; that their glory will be, not to continue the terrible deeds of Ziska and Procop, but to develop and complete the noble works of Huss and Jerome.

The Calixtines and the Roman Catholics received the Emperor Sigismund as their lawful monarch. He swore to maintain the *Compactata* and the liberties of the country. Some chiefs of the Taborites who opposed his authority were defeated, taken, and executed ; but he was wise enough not to persecute the remainder of the Taborites, to whom he left the town of Tabor, granting the free exercise of their religion, and a considerable extent of land, and demanding from them only a comparatively small

tribute. As soon as they were left unmolested, they applied themselves to industrial pursuits, and, from terrible warriors, became peaceful citizens; in short, the true Slavonic character, peaceful and industrious when not excited by oppression and ill treatment, showed itself on that occasion, as much as it did always and everywhere. Eneas Sylvius paid them a visit at Tabor, because, as he says, having no place where to sleep for the night, he preferred to spend it in their town rather than in the open field, where he would have been in danger of robbers. They received the Italian priest with Slavonic hospitality, meeting him with marks of great joy; and although their appearance denoted great poverty, they immediately offered him and his retinue abundance of meat and drink. And yet he calls them *an abominable perfidious sect, deserving of capital punishment*. He does not, however, impute to them any crime or immorality, but because they refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the Roman Church, did not believe transubstantiation, &c. &c. And after having enumerated a series of articles of his Church which the Taborites rejected, he concludes with the following words:—"And yet those sacrilegious and most rascally (*scele- ratissimos*) people, whom the Emperor Sigismund ought to have exterminated, or relegated to the extremities of the world to dig and break stones, excluded from every intercourse with mankind, received from him, on the contrary, several rights and immunities, being subject only to a small tax; which was an act dis-

graceful and injurious to him and to his kingdom ; because, as a little leaven sours the whole dough, the dregs of the people have defiled the whole nation.”* Such were the charitable sentiments with which that celebrated scholar and future Pope repaid the hospitality of the poor Taborites.

The Taborites changed their name about 1450 into that of the Bohemian Brethren ; and in 1456 they began to form a community, separated by definite forms from the rest of the followers of Huss or the Calixtines. In 1458 they experienced a severe persecution from the Roman Catholics, as well as from the Calixtines. The persecution was renewed with increased severity in 1466 ; but it did not subdue the zeal and courage of the Brethren, whose devotion to their cause grew with the persecution they suffered for its sake. They assembled a Synod at a place called Lhota, and established their Church by electing the elders according to the custom of the primitive Christians. Having adopted the same dogma as the Waldensians, their priests received the ordination from Stephen the Waldensian, bishop of Vienne ;† and on this account they were

* *Vide* his letter to Carvajal.

† Some writers supposed that he was Bishop of Vienna in Austria, and that there were at that time a considerable number of Waldensians in that country. There is, however, no evidence of this fact ; and I have followed the opinion of the Rev. Dr Gilly, who is certainly one of the greatest authorities on this subject, and who thinks that it was Vienne in southern France.

deed, without compassing land and sea, in a circle lying in the immediate vicinity of their most flourishing establishments. They certainly could not undertake the evangelization of those Slavonians who live under the dominion of Russia and Austria; but there are hundreds of thousands of them in Silesia, where the Moravians have several prosperous settlements. There is even no need of their attempting to make converts amongst those who live within the pale of the Roman Catholic Church. This might perhaps lead to hostile feelings and actions, uncongenial with the peaceful spirit of the Moravians, and productive of more evil than good; but there are many Slavonians in Silesia and in Eastern Prussia nominally belonging to the Protestant Church, but whose religious instruction is very deficient, owing to the want of pastors and teachers thoroughly conversant with the language of their flocks and pupils. Those Slavonians present a most fertile field for the Christian labours of the Moravians; but although many of their ministers are undoubtedly very proficient Hindoo, Hottentot, and Esquimaux scholars, I wonder if there are amongst them such as are masters even of one dialect of that tongue in which Huss proclaimed the pure Word of God. I shall not indulge in any further considerations on this subject, which, as a Slavonian, I cannot handle without perhaps too much warmth. I shall only observe, would it not appear, to say the least, strange, if an individual descended from an illustrious house,

preserving its name, and carefully tracing his pedigree, were to take a kind and active interest in the whole of mankind, with the exception of the members of that family from which he claims his own descent? This is, however, precisely the case with the Moravians. They assume the name of that Slavonic country where the first national Church was established (page 38), and they claim to be immediately descended from the most perfect disciples of the great Slavonic reformer; and yet they have completely estranged themselves from his race. Should this essay be fortunate enough to attract the attention of some Moravians, I would most earnestly request them to consider that their community is a branch severed from the great Slavonic tree, and therefore its many offsets, transplanted into different foreign lands, have never produced anything more than small though verdant groves; but let it be regrafted on the parent stock, and it will rapidly grow into a mighty forest.

I now return to the history of the moderate Hussites or Calixtines, who formed the majority of the inhabitants of Bohemia. As soon as Sigismund believed himself in the secure possession of the throne of that country, he openly declared for the restoration of the ancient ecclesiastical order. This would have probably led to a new war between him and the Bohemians; but he died in 1437. He left no son, and designated as his successor in Hungary and Bohemia, Albert of Austria, husband of his daughter Elizabeth. Albert was acknow-

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ledged without difficulty as King of Hungary, and elected emperor; but his known aversion to the *Compactata* created a strong opposition to his claims in Bohemia. He was accepted by the Roman Catholics, and crowned at Prague; but the Hussites declared against him, and elected Casimir, brother of the King of Poland, and son of Vladislav Jaguillon, to whom they had repeatedly offered the crown of their country. The Polish Diet of Korczyn confirmed that election, notwithstanding a violent opposition by the clergy and their partizans, and sent an army to support the Hussites. Casimir, who was then only thirteen years old, entered Bohemia with that army, and, being joined by the Hussites, obtained considerable advantages over the imperial party, supported by German and Hungarian forces; but his final triumph was impeded by the treachery of the Count of Cilley,* the contagious disease which decimated his army, and some unfortunate differences among the Hussites themselves. The efforts of the Council of Bale succeeded in suspending the hostilities; and a congress was opened at Breslau, in order to effect a pacification between the contending parties. The Polish delegates proposed that Casimir and Albert should equally resign their claims to the throne of Bohemia, and submit them to a Diet of that country, which should freely de-

* A German grandee, brother-in-law of the deceased Emperor Sigismund, and who had taken a part with the Hussites.

cide upon the respective merits of the two candidates, because, as these delegates said, their prince had not accepted that throne from any motive of ambition or avarice, but simply out of sympathy for a nation of *the same language with the Poles*, and for the good of Christianity. This liberal proposition, with which the Bohemians of all parties were greatly pleased, was rejected by the emperor, who was afraid that Casimir's party, supported by the Hussites, might prevail over his own, which was exclusively composed of Roman Catholics. A renewal of hostilities was prevented by the Council of Bale; and the emperor died soon afterwards in Hungary. He was a strenuous supporter of the unconditional supremacy of Rome; but his personal qualities were acknowledged by an ultra Bohemian writer, Bartoszek Drahonitzki, who says of him,—“May his soul repose in holy peace, because, *although a German*, he was honest, valiant, and kind.”

The King of Poland, Vladislav the Third, was elected to the throne of Hungary after the death of Albert; and his brother Casimir being intrusted with the government of Lithuania, no longer competed for the crown of Bohemia. Albert left no children, but a pregnant wife, in virtue of whose rights he had obtained the crown of Hungary, and claimed that of Bohemia. She gave birth to a son; but the claims of the infant Prince Vladislav Posthumus were set aside by the Hungarians, who, as I have said, elected to their throne the King of Poland. These claims were acknowledged in

Bohemia; and George Podiebrad, a Hussite nobleman, who was a man of eminent character and talents, enjoying an immense influence in his country, was established regent of the kingdom during the minority of Vladislav. A sincere patriot, Podiebrad had truly at heart the peace of his own country, and that of all Christendom, which was then exposed to imminent danger from the Turks. His honest intentions were appreciated by the Emperor Frederic the Third, and some other princes; but their efforts to obtain from the Pope the confirmation of the *Compactata*, solemnly granted by the Council of Bale, and upon the execution of which Podiebrad and the Hussites insisted, were fruitless. The Pope, Nicholas the Second, sent to Bohemia, in 1447, as his legate, the Cardinal Carvajal. He was received with the greatest honours. The Bohemians insisted on the confirmation of the *Compactata*; but he asked for time to deliberate on this important subject, and to have the original of that document, in order duly to examine it. This request being complied with, he secretly left Prague, and took with him the above-mentioned document. He was overtaken by a party of Bohemian knights, who compelled the legate to restore what they regarded as their ecclesiastical *Magna Charta*; but he said, "Well, I now give it back to you, but the time will come when you shall not dare to produce it again." Notwithstanding the Papal opposition to the *Compactata*, the Calixtine Church was maintained as the established one of the country during the regency of Podiebrad.

Vladislav Posthumus assumed the reigns of government in 1456, but died next year. Many candidates for the vacant throne presented their claims to the diet of election assembled at Prague in 1458, but the choice fell on George Podiebrad.

Podiebrad was a great man, but the difficulties of his position were overwhelming. He restored to Bohemia the provinces which had been occupied by foreign princes; but he could not maintain internal peace, which was continually disturbed by Papal machinations. He was acknowledged as King of Bohemia by the emperor; he swore obedience to the Pope, with the reservation of the *Compactata*; but Pope Pius the Second, who, as Eneas Sylvius, had been secretary to the Council of Bale, and was, as such, one of the principal authors of that covenant, now insisted upon its abolition, and in 1463 excommunicated Podiebrad.* The emperor and several other princes who intended to place Podiebrad at the head of an expedition against the Turks, interceded with the Pope, but all in vain. Things became still worse after the election to the Papal See of Paul the Second, who declared by his legate, that "although it was true that the Council of Bale, which presumed to set itself above the head of the Church, had granted the *Compactata*, yet they never were confirmed by the holy father." Notwithstanding the representa-

* This change of opinion made a wit of that time say, *Pius damnavit quod Aeneas amavit.*

tions of several monarchs, the Pope declared that "the holy father was infallible in judging of heresy; a heretical monarch was impious; the reign of an impious monarch could not but be destructive to mankind; and therefore it was lawful to employ bodily arms against him. This declaration was, in 1465, followed by a crusade, which Podiebrad defeated; but the intrigues of the Pope grew more and more active. In vain Podiebrad represented the dangers of the rapid progress which the Turks had made since the capture of Constantinople in 1454, and offered troops, money, and his own person against the common enemy of Christendom. The Papal legate Fantinus dela Valle declared at Nuremberg, that "it was the wish of the holy father that the army of the empire and a crusade should be employed rather against the heretics than the Turks."

The unceasing machinations of the Pope finally attained their object. Many of Podiebrad's subjects, particularly amongst the great nobles and the bishops, were seduced, by those machinations, from their allegiance to this excellent monarch; but the loyalty of the lesser nobles, and of the towns, remained unshaken. The Emperor Frederic the Third, who had hitherto been his friend, and who had received from Podiebrad many services, now made an attempt to possess himself of the Bohemian crown; and the great King of Hungary, Matthias Corvinus, joined the enemies of Podiebrad, notwithstanding that he was married to his daughter. They invaded his dominions,

and tried to seduce all his Roman Catholic subjects, by representing that the oath of allegiance sworn to a heretic was not binding. These infamous suggestions were rejected by real patriots, but were not without effect upon many unprincipled or superstitious Bohemians, and even his life was not secure from the fanatical assassins. Yet, notwithstanding these great difficulties, he overcame his foreign and domestic enemies. His eldest son, Victorin, defeated the emperor, and dictated peace to him, near the walls of Vienna; and Podiebrad himself surrounded the King of Hungary, who had invaded his dominions, and compelled him to conclude a peace.

Podiebrad terminated his life, devoted to his country, by a noble act of patriotism. He had two sons, Victorin and Henry, both endowed with great and noble qualities.* Yet he knew to what difficulties Bohemia would be exposed under the rule of his son, who would have been unable to maintain himself on the throne, except by the sacrifice of the interests and dignity of his country. He therefore looked for a successor who could secure assistance to his country from abroad, sufficiently powerful to overcome its enemies. Such assistance could be expected neither from Germany nor Hungary, but from a cognate nation, with which the affinities of the race were stronger than theological differences,—a nation which fought many times for the

* Henry left some beautiful poetry in his national language.

Hussites, and never against them. Podiebrad opened, in 1460, negotiations for an alliance with Casimir, king of Poland, the same who had been elected by the Hussites in 1439 to the throne of their country. This alliance was concluded at a personal interview between the two monarchs at Glogow, in 1462; and Podiebrad guaranteed to obtain by his influence the succession of the Bohemian throne, after his death, to a son of Casimir, who was to marry a daughter of Podiebrad. When the machinations of the Pope, to which I have alluded, created in Bohemia a party against Podiebrad, that party endeavoured to seduce Casimir, by the offer of the crown of that country to himself, and the cession of some provinces to Poland, provided he would dissolve the treaty of Glogow, and employ his forces against Podiebrad, instead of supporting him. Casimir rejected these offers, and intimated his readiness to support Podiebrad, notwithstanding the complaints of the Pope, who reproached him with acting against the interests of Christianity, by allying himself with an excommunicated heretic. Casimir disregarded the Papal injunctions, and rigorously prohibited the preaching in Poland of the crusade proclaimed against Podiebrad.

The severe trials to which Podiebrad was continually exposed greatly injured his health: therefore, feeling that his end was not distant, he convoked a general diet of the country, and proposed to it to elect as his successor Prince Vladislav, eldest son of the King of Poland. The Bohemian diet accepted this proposition,

and it was ratified by the Polish diet, notwithstanding the violent opposition of the clergy.

Podiebrad died in 1471, in the fifty-first year of his age. He was a truly national and patriotic king, endowed with great political and military talents, and with a noble and energetic character. The unfortunate circumstances with which he had to cope during his whole reign prevented him making it as prosperous as that of the Emperor Charles the Third.

Vladislav of Poland took possession of the throne in 1471. On his accession he confirmed the *Compactata*; but Pope Sixtus declared against him, and supported the pretensions of the King of Hungary, Mathias Corvinus. A war ensued, in which the Pope supported the King of Hungary, and the Poles Vladislav. The dangers which menaced both parties from the Turks put a stop to the quarrel; and the Pope, who had excited the war, now pacified it. The reign of Vladislav was insignificant. In 1489 he was elected to the throne of Hungary, after the death of Mathias Corvinus. He died in 1516, and was succeeded on the throne of Bohemia and Hungary by his minor son Louis, who perished in 1526 at the battle of Mohacz against the Turks.

An equality of rights was maintained between the Hussites and the Roman Catholics during these two reigns.

Louis left no children, and was succeeded on the throne of Hungary and Bohemia by Ferdinand of Austria, brother of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and married to the sister of

Louis, a prince of a bigoted and despotic character. The doctrines of Luther had already found a speedy echo amongst the Calixtines under the preceding reign; and Protestantism gained so much ground under that of Ferdinand, that the Bohemians refused to take a part in the war against the Protestant league of Smalkalden, and formed a union for the defence of the national and religious liberties, which were menaced by Ferdinand. The defeat of the Protestants at the battle of Muhlberg in 1547, by Charles the Fifth, which laid prostrate their cause in Germany, produced a severe re-action in Bohemia. Several leaders of the union were executed, others imprisoned or banished; the property of many nobles was confiscated, the towns were heavily fined, deprived of several privileges, and subjected to new taxes. These measures were carried into execution with the assistance of German, Spanish, and Hungarian soldiers, and legalized by an assembly known under the name of the Bloody Diet. It was at that assembly that the chapter of Prague declared that the opposition to the royal authority was caused by heretical books; and, in order to prevent this mischief, the clergy demanded and obtained the establishment of a censure of books, with which it was entrusted. The Jesuits were also introduced during that reign into Bohemia.

The privileges of the Calixtine, or, as it was officially called, the Utraquist Church, were not abolished; and Ferdinand, who had succeeded to the imperial crown after the abdication of

his brother Charles the Fifth, softened, during the latter years of his reign, his harsh and despotic character, which was more the effect of his Spanish education under the guidance of the stern Cardinal Ximenes, than of a natural disposition. He died in 1564, sincerely regretting, it is said, the acts of oppression which he had committed against his Bohemian subjects. He was succeeded by his son, the Emperor Maximilian the Second, a man of noble character and tolerant disposition, which led to the belief that he himself inclined towards the doctrines of the Reformation. He died in 1576, leaving a name venerated by all parties. The Jesuit Balbinus calls him the kindest of all princes; and the Protestant Stranski, a truly pious soul. He granted perfect liberty to the Protestants. Maximilian's son, the Emperor Rudolph, was educated at the court of his cousin Philip the Second of Spain, and could not be but adverse to Protestantism, which had, however, become too strong, not only in Bohemia, but also in Austria proper, to be easily suppressed; but several indirect means were adopted, in order gradually to effect this object, and to bring back the liberties of the Protestants to the *Compactata*. Rudolph was, however, too much absorbed in the study of astrology, alchemy, and other similar sciences, to pursue any active line of policy, whether good or bad. The measures devised against the Protestants were therefore not followed up; and the danger of losing his throne, with which he was menaced from his brother Mathias, in-

duced him to grant the celebrated patent known under the name of the "Letters Patent of Majesty," or Royal Charter, by which a full religious liberty was granted, and the University of Prague given up to the Protestants.

Rudolph was deposed by his brother Matthias, who, in order to secure the possession of Bohemia, confirmed the patent of his brother. The dangers with which the states of Matthias were menaced from the Turks induced him to adopt a measure which had never been tried before, or repeated till last year, *i. e.* a general assembly of the states of all his dominions, which took place at Linz in 1614. The states respectfully listened to all the demands and propositions of the emperor; but as their own demands and grievances on civil and ecclesiastical subjects were not listened to, the assembly separated without producing any result whatever.

Mathias succeeded in renewing for twenty year the truce with Turkey; but the religious affairs of Bohemia caused him great difficulties. He was not liked himself, and his destined successor, Ferdinand of Styria, was hated on account of his known bigotry. The Jesuits and the other partizans of Ferdinand openly declared that the Royal Charter, being extorted from the monarch, was void and null; that the heads of several great lords would be taken off; that many who had then nothing would be soon settled in fine castles; that Mathias was too weak to tear to pieces the old rags of parchment, but that the pious Ferdinand would change everything, because *novus rex, nova lex*.

The national party, composed chiefly of Protestants, were growing every day more jealous of the German influence promoted by Austria. In 1616 the Diet of Prague enacted a law, which forbade letters of naturalization or the freedom of a city to be granted to individuals who knew not the Bohemian language. Meanwhile the breach between the Jesuit Court faction, headed by the imperial ministers Slawata and Martinitz, and the Protestant national party, the principal leaders of which were the Counts Thurn and Schlik, was daily widening. An active quarrel began about two new churches built by the Protestants of Klostergrab and Braunau, but closed, and afterwards demolished, by order of the Archbishop.* A petition, signed by a great number of nobility and other persons, complaining of this act, was *ungraciously dismissed* by the king. The ferment grew stronger and stronger; the Protestants preached; the Romanists made processions. A number of the principal nobles repaired to the royal castle, and demanded an explanation from Slawata and Martinitz, whether they were the authors of the royal answer to the petition. A haughty reply to this demand led to an altercation, in consequence of which the above-mentioned ministers were thrown out

* The building of these churches was not legal, because, according to the provision of the royal charter, every one could build churches upon his own estates; and the two churches mentioned in the text were erected on the lands belonging to the Archbishop of Prague and the Abbot of Braunau.

of the window. The height was considerable ; but they luckily fell upon a large heap of sweepings, so that they escaped unhurt,—a circumstance which produced a strong impression upon the multitude ; some believing it a Divine interposition, others ascribing it to the help of Satan. The perpetrators of this act of brutal violence, celebrated under the name of the *defenestration* of Prague, attempted to justify it by an ancient custom of their country to punish traitors in that way, and founded on the example of Jezebel, the throwing down of political criminals from the Tarpeian rock, &c. They immediately established a council of regency, composed of thirty persons, whose first act was the expulsion of the Jesuits, as the cause of all mischief. They were prohibited, on pain of death, from returning to the country ; and intercession in their favour was declared high treason.

The Emperor Mathias, afraid that all the Protestants in his empire would rise in favour of the Bohemians, wished to negotiate ; but his declared successor, Ferdinand, was not afraid of anything, whenever it concerned the interests of his Church. He was entirely directed by his confessor, the Jesuit Lamormain, whom he frequently assured, that if the good of the Catholic Church required it, he would willingly lay down his head upon a block, and that he would rather live in exile, and beg his bread from door to door, than suffer heresy in his dominions.

War began ; and the imperialists, under the

Spanish generals Buquoi and Dampierre, were defeated by the Protestants. Mathias died, and Ferdinand began his reign under the most difficult circumstances. The Bohemians, joined by Bethlem Gabor, prince of Transylvania, defeated his troops, and besieged him at Vienna. The town contained many of his enemies. They surrounded his palace, loudly demanding that Ferdinand should be sent to a convent, and his councillors put to death. He was pressed in his own apartment, by a deputation of the malcontents, to grant the terms demanded by his revolted subjects; but his stern resolution did not waver for a moment. This firmness could not but re-animate the courage of his partizans; and it was completely restored by the report which the priests spread, that when he was praying before a crucifix, it said to him in Latin, "*Ferdinande, non deseram te.*" A detachment of the imperialists succeeded in entering the town; and soon afterwards, the news of a victory gained by Buquoi over the insurgents in Bohemia, and the consequent raising of the siege, confirmed the tale of the miracle. It was believed by all the Roman Catholic population, and gave an immense strength to Ferdinand's party. The Bohemians, however, declared his deposition from the throne of their country, and elected in his place Frederic, palatine of the Rhine, whose qualifications for this dignity were, however, more specious than real. These qualifications were, his headship of the Protestant confedera-

tion of Germany,* and his being the nephew of Mauritius, prince of Orange, stadtholder of Holland, and son-in-law of James the First of Great Britain. By his personal character Frederic was quite unfit for the arduous duties of this high but perilous station; but the Bohemians vigorously prosecuted the war against Ferdinand. They defeated the imperial forces; and their army, supported by the Protestant prince of Transylvania, Bethlem Gabor, besieged Vienna again. The fortunes of Ferdinand seemed to be on the brink of ruin; but they were saved by the firmness of his own character, by the immense activity and skill of the Jesuits, by the fidelity of the Roman Catholics to their cause, and, above all, by the shameless desertion of the cause of Protestantism by the German princes who professed its tenets.

The first success of the Bohemians awakened the alarm of the Roman Catholic princes; and not only did the Pope, Spain, and the Roman Catholic princes of Germany, unite for the defence of their cause, represented by Ferdinand the Second, but even France forgot on that occasion the fundamental principle of her foreign policy,

* This confederation, known under the name of the Evangelical Union, was formed by the advice of Henry the Fourth of France, in 1594, at Heilbroun, confirmed in 1603 at Heidelberg, and renewed in 1608 at Ashhausen. The parties belonging to this confederation agreed to furnish each a fixed number of troops, and to allow the dogmatic differences between the Lutherans and Calvinists to have no influence upon that union.

—opposition to the progress of the house of Austria. The splendid scheme of establishing the peace and welfare of the European community on a permanent foundation, devised by the genius of Henry the Fourth and his great minister Sully, was cut short, when on the eve of execution, by the murder of that admirable monarch; and Elizabeth, whose clear and far-sighted mind had conceived the same scheme, even before it had been communicated to her by Sully, had been long in her grave; whilst the puny successors of those great monarchs were totally unable to understand the ideas of their glorious predecessors.* Richelieu, who

* It is scarcely necessary to observe, that I allude to that celebrated project conceived by Henry and Sully, to reduce the dangerous power of the Austrian dynasty, and to establish the community of European states upon a secure and permanent foundation,—an arrangement which, by satisfying the wants and feelings of its nations, might secure to Europe the blessings of a perpetual peace. According to that scheme, this peace was to be maintained by a permanent congress, composed of the delegates of all the states forming the European confederation, and possessed of sufficient means to prevent its breach, not by empty words, but by real deeds. It seems, however, that it is not generally known that the same scheme had been conceived by Queen Elizabeth, even before it had been communicated to her by Henry; nay, it is not improbable that she suggested to him the idea. Sully says, in speaking of this project,—“If the first idea of it was not given him [Henry the Fourth] by Elizabeth, it is at least certain that this great queen had long before imagined it herself, as a means of avenging Europe on Austria, its common enemy.”*

Sully had a conversation on this subject with Queen

* *Memoirs of Sully*, book xxx.

at a later period declared war against Austria, and supported the German Protestants, was not yet at the helm of affairs in France.

Elizabeth, during his voyage to England, in 1601; and in relating that conversation, he expresses his surprise that Elizabeth and Henry, without having ever conferred upon their political project, should have so exactly coincided in all their views, that the relation of it agreed in even the minutest details.* Sully was filled with admiration in listening to Elizabeth's exposition of her views and principles; and after having observed that it was a frequent occurrence to meet with sovereigns who formed inconsiderate projects, which it was beyond their power to execute, he adds,—“But to know how to form only reasonable schemes,—how to regulate wisely their economy,—to foresee and to prevent all inconveniences, in such a manner that, in case they should occur, nothing more is necessary than to apply the remedy provided beforehand,—is a thing of which few princes are capable. A great part of the articles, conditions, and different arrangements [of this plan], is due to this queen, and shows well that, in point of penetration, wisdom, and other qualities of mind, she was not inferior to any king amongst those who were the most deserving of the name.”†

Elizabeth wished to proceed at once to the execution of that project, and grieved much that the condition of France, exhausted by terrible commotions, did not permit Henry to second her intentions. Henry himself also considered it as a great misfortune that he was unable to begin the execution of this great scheme during the lifetime of the Queen of England. “The death of Elizabeth,” says Sully, “was an irreparable loss to Europe, and particularly to Henry. It was to him such a severe blow, that it nearly made him abandon his project, because, according to his own expression, he had lost a second self,—*un second soi-meme*.”

I confess that I am at a loss to understand why such an important fact, exhibiting in a strong light the superiority of Elizabeth's mind, and certainly not the least glorious to

* *Memoirs of Sully*, book xii.

† *Ibid*, book xii.

The French court, misled by the intrigues of Spain, sent an ambassador to Vienna, who arranged a pacification between Ferdinand and

the memory of that truly great sovereign, is not mentioned either by Hume or Lingard. The last of these writers says that "it was difficult to reconcile the policy of her ministers with honesty and good faith ; but that in the result it proved eminently successful.* The political scheme to which I have alluded, devised, as it appears, by Elizabeth's own genius, and not by her ministers, was certainly reconcileable with good faith and honesty. This omission appears to me the more unaccountable, as it is impossible to believe that a work so generally known as the *Memoirs of Sully* should have escaped the attention of those two eminent writers.

I have no hesitation in saying, that Elizabeth, Henry the Fourth, and Sully, were far in advance, not only of their own age, but of that in which we live ; because, had the days of the two great monarchs been prolonged, England and France would have accomplished by deeds that great and noble work,—a permanent peace,—which the present politicians attempt to effect by a profuse expenditure of words. The project of Henry and Elizabeth was not an Utopia ; for no one acquainted with history will accuse them of having been idle dreamers. The result of their respective reigns is a sufficient proof that they were profound adepts in the mysteries of the true *king-craft* ; and, indeed, events have proved that their scheme was practical. Amongst the many articles of that elaborate plan was the restoration of Hungary to an independent sovereignty, strengthened by the addition of several adjacent provinces, in order to make that country an efficient bulwark against the infidels. Poland was also destined for the same object. Bohemia was to be rendered independent, and her extent increased by several provinces containing a Slavonic population ; whilst the princes of the Austrian dynasty, deprived of the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia and their German possessions, were to be provided with states formed from the Spanish colonies of America. Now,

* Vol. viii. chap. vii.

Bethlem Gabor, who had been obliged to retire from under the wall of the Austrian capital, by the hardships of a severe winter, and by a diversion which Sigismund the Third, whose baneful reign I shall narrate in my fourth lecture, had made by an invasion into Hungary. James the First disapproved of the enterprise of his son-in-law regarding the Bohemian insurrection against Ferdinand, as an infringement upon the Divine right of kings ; and, instead

is it necessary to say, that the destruction of Poland as an independent state is generally admitted to be, not only a political crime, but a political misfortune, to the whole of Europe,—that the recent events of Hungary have shaken the political edifice of Austria to its very foundation, and rendered her utterly inefficient as a barrier to the progress of Russia towards Constantinople,—and, finally, that the separation from the mother country of the Spanish American colonies, unprepared for self-government, has thrown them into a perpetual state of the wildest anarchy, and reduced them to a miserable condition ? Would not all this mischief have been prevented if the existence of Hungary and Poland had been firmly established, and the Spanish colonies rendered independent under a monarchical form, congenial to the habits and ideas of their population, and governed by princes of the Austro-Spanish dynasty ? There can be no doubt that they would have developed themselves under an independent but monarchical government with the greatest advantage, not only to themselves, but to the whole world ; because the establishment of a *universal free trade* was one of the principal articles of this scheme, as well as an equal religious liberty to Roman Catholics and Protestants. According to the same plan, the Czar of Muscovy, with whose power Elizabeth had sufficient means of becoming acquainted, was to be invited to become a member of the European Confederation ; and, if he refused to join it, relegated to the confines of Asia. Comment is superfluous on this provision.

of assisting him, repressed the zeal of his subjects, who were willing to help their fellow-Protestants of Bohemia; and Mauritius of Nassau, uncle to the new Bohemian monarch, was prevented from assisting his nephew by a still unexpired truce with Spain, as well as by his internal difficulties, created by a strong opposition to his authority in Holland. The Evangelical Union, whose evident interest it was to support the Bohemian Protestants against the very same power which it had itself been formed to oppose, adopted quite a different course. The Lutheran princes who belonged to it were more jealous of the Reformers or Calvinists than of the Roman Catholics. The Elector of Saxony was afraid that the success of the Bohemians would enable the Ernestine or eldest branch* of his family, zealously devoted to the Protestant cause, to retake the electoral dignity and the states of which, with the assistance of Austria, they had been deprived by his ancestor. He therefore embraced the cause of Ferdinand, and, instead of supporting the Bohemians, took an active part against them. The other members of the Evangelical Union were induced, by the negotiation of the same French embassy which had arranged a pacification between Bethlem Gabor and Ferdinand, to sign, on the 8th July 1620, a treaty at Ulm, by which they formally

* This branch is now represented by the sovereign houses of Saxe-Altenburg, Saxe-Coburg, Saxe-Meiningen, and Saxe-Weimar.

abandoned their chief, the Palatine of the Rhine, in regard to the affairs of Bohemia, with the reservation that they would take his defence, should his hereditary states be attacked by the Catholic league. Thus the Roman Catholics nobly stood by their cause on that memorable occasion ; the Protestants basely deserted theirs.

Such shameless conduct on the part of the German Protestants could not but completely dishearten those of Bohemia, who soon perceived that they could not have chosen a monarch less fitted for this dangerous honour than Frederic. The Bohemians were defeated on the 8th November 1620, at Weisenberg, near Prague, by a superior force of Bavarians and imperialists, commanded by Buquoi. Frederic, who had been feasting at the time of the battle, was so terrified by the disastrous news of its loss, that, instead of defending his capital, as his subjects entreated him to do, he ignominiously fled, leaving them to the revenge of an irritated enemy. This revenge was terrible. Many principal noblemen and other persons of note were executed, and a great number of individuals belonging to the most respectable classes of society fled the country, and had their property confiscated. Many persons who had taken no part in the insurrection were heavily fined. All these spoils went to enrich a host of foreign adventurers who served in the imperial army ; and whole provinces were detached from the country, to reward the service of the imperial allies,—the Duke of Bavaria, whose assistance

had chiefly brought about the triumph of the imperial cause, and the Protestant Elector of Saxony, who received as blood-money, for helping to destroy his Bohemian fellow-Protestants, the fine province of Lusatia. Protestantism and the Slavonic nationality of Bohemia, considered as synonymous by the Jesuit counsellors of Ferdinand, were suppressed by a most relentless system of persecution ; and the consequence which it produced was the unutterable misery and moral degradation of the country.* But if this

* The following eloquent description of the wretched consequences produced in Bohemia by the re-actionary system of Ferdinand has been given by a patriotic Roman Catholic writer of that country, in a work published at Vienna under the Austrian censure, about half a century ago : it cannot, therefore, be suspected of being untrue, or even exaggerated. " Under the reign of Ferdinand the Second, the whole of the Bohemian nation was entirely changed and recast. It is scarcely possible to find in history another instance of a whole nation so much changed in the space of about fifteen years. In the year 1620, all Bohemia was, with the exception of some nobles and monks, Protestant ; at the death of Ferdinand the Second, it was, at least in appearance, entirely Roman Catholic. The merit of this conversion of a whole country in so short a time was claimed by the Jesuits. When on one occasion they were boasting of this achievement at Rome, in the presence of the Pope, the celebrated capuchin monk, Valerian Magnus, who was present on that occasion, and who had also taken part in the conversion of Bohemia, said, — ' Holy father, give me soldiers, as they were given to the Jesuits, and I shall convert the whole world.' "

The states of Bohemia, until the battle of Weissenberg, possessed a power at least equal to that of the Parliament of England. They made laws, concluded alliances with their neighbours, imposed taxes, conferred the rank of nobility upon meritorious individuals, kept their own troops, chose

wretched condition into which Bohemia was plunged was the work of the united satellites of Rome and Austria,—of soldiers and priests,—

their kings, or their consent was at least asked when the father wished to leave the crown to his son. They lost all these privileges in the above-mentioned space of time (i. e. the reign of Ferdinand the Second).

Until that time, the Bohemians appeared on the field of battle as a separate nation, and they not unfrequently earned glory. They were now thrust amongst other nations, and their name has never since resounded on the field of battle. Formerly it was said, the Bohemians have marched into the field; the Bohemians have carried the fortifications; the Bohemians have taken the town; the Bohemians have advanced against the enemy; the Bohemians have gained the victory. These glorious expressions were never uttered by a mouth, or transmitted to posterity by an historian. Till that time the Bohemians, taken as a nation, had been brave, dauntless, passionate for glory, and enterprising; but now they lost all courage, all national pride, all spirit of enterprise. They fled into forests like sheep before the Swedes, or suffered themselves to be trampled under foot. Their valour was then lying buried on the battle-field of Weissenberg. Individual Bohemians still possess courage, martial spirit, and a love of glory; but, mingled with foreign nations, they resemble the waters of the Moldava, which have mingled with those of the Elbe. These two united rivers bear vessels, overflow their banks, inundate the country, carry away rocks and mountains; yet it is always said the Elbe did it, and nobody ever thinks about the Moldava.

The Bohemian language, which was used in all public transactions, and of which the nobles were proud, fell into contempt. The upper classes adopted the German, and the burghers were obliged to learn it too, because the monks preached in the towns in German. The inhabitants of the cities began to be ashamed of their native tongue, which, being retained only by the peasants, was called the peasant's tongue. As high as the Bohemians had risen in science, literature, and arts, under the reigns of Maximilian

it was mainly brought about by the faithless conduct of the Protestant sovereigns of Germany towards the cause of their religion,—con-

and Rudolph, so low did they now sink in all these respects. I do not know of any scholar who, after the expulsion of the Protestants, distinguished himself by any learning. The University of Prague was in the hands of the Jesuits, or rather in abeyance, because the Pope having ordered all promotion to be suspended in it, no person could receive an academical degree. Some patriots, clergymen as well as laymen, openly murmured against such a state of things, but without producing any effect whatever ; whilst many others silently deplored the fall of the national literature. The great majority of the schools of the kingdom were conducted by the Jesuits and other monks, and not much else than bad Latin was taught in them. It cannot be denied that there were amongst the Jesuits many individuals possessed of literary and scientific accomplishments ; but their principle being, that people should not be enlightened, but rather kept in darkness, they imparted to their pupils only the outward shell of knowledge, retaining the kernel for themselves ; for their object was to remain in the exclusive possession of learning, and to stand in this respect superior, not only to the laity, but even to other monastic communities. In order to keep people more effectually in a state of ignorance, they went from town to town, exacting from the inhabitants, under the penalty of everlasting damnation, that they should show the books in their possession. These books were examined by the Jesuits, who burnt the greater part of them, and since that time a Bohemian work is a rare book amongst us. They also endeavoured by the same means to obliterate throughout all Bohemia every trace of her ancient learning. It was therefore that they related to their pupils, that, previously to their arrival in Bohemia, ignorance prevailed in that country, and they carefully concealed from the people not only the learned labours of our ancestors, but even their very names. Nothing that the learned and patriotic Balbinus had collected and compiled about the ancient literature of Bohemia could be published before the abolition of their order, because

duct to which there were but a few noble exceptions.

It is indeed curious to observe that some Protestant writers seem to be at a loss how to account for the rapid and almost complete suppression of Protestantism in Bohemia and Austria proper by Ferdinand the Second, although the cause of this melancholy event is so obvious. People ascribed the rapidity with which that deplorable revolution was accomplished to the fickleness of the Slavonic character, the rashness of the Bohemian leaders, their want of foresight, and I don't know what, and finally concluded that it was a mysterious destiny which made Rome regain so easily many extensive regions in the east of Europe, which had been wrested from under its dominion by Protestantism. The causes of the rapid suppression of Protestantism in Bohemia may be, I think, reduced to two principal ones: first, the violent persecution of the Protestants, to which I have alluded; and, secondly, the moral effect which had been produced on the Bohemians by the complete desertion of their cause, and even the assistance given to its enemies by those who were most interested in its triumph. It could not but create a general

they took care not to communicate his manuscript to any body.

The Bohemians changed even their national dress, and gradually adopted their present costume. I must also remark, that with that period the history of the Bohemians ends, and that of the other nations in Bohemia begins. (*Pelzel's Geschichte von Böhmen*, p. 185, et seq.)

impression, either that those who had acted in such a manner were not sincere in what they professed to believe, or that their conduct, unaccountable to the unsophisticated mind of the masses, showed that they were destined to perish, according to the proverb, *Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat*,—a circumstance which could not fail to afford the anti-Protestant party an argument in their favour, which, striking the imagination of the multitude, made a far more powerful impression than could have been produced by the most logical reasoning. History shows us that success had everywhere a greater influence upon the great bulk of the population than the real merits or demerits of the cause which had triumphed or succumbed. It is more easy and profitable to side with the successful; and the generality of men are but too ready to believe that the most advantageous course is also the right one: only a few generous characters stand to the last by a cause which they consider to be that of justice. It was therefore no wonder that, after the death and exile of the most respectable and intelligent of the Bohemian Protestants, the remainder should be driven, like as many true sheep, into the pale of the Roman Catholic Church, or tempted to conceal their creed under an outward conformity to its rites. The ways of Providence are undoubtedly inscrutable, but they are carried out by immutable laws, by which that Providence has regulated the affairs of the physical and moral world, by an uninterrupted concatenation of causes and effects, the immediate agency of

which is not beyond the reach of human comprehension. No one will be astonished if he sees an individual break his neck or limbs in leaping from a considerable height ; and there is as little reason for marvel if a cause, when abandoned by its natural defenders, succumbs. The only real subject of wonder would be, what could have induced people to act in the manner they did, if they were of sane mind.

A severe and immediate punishment was inflicted by Ferdinand himself upon the Protestant sovereigns of Germany, for their base and senseless behaviour towards the Bohemians. As soon as this monarch had crushed the Bohemians, he began to trample upon the religious and political liberties of those who had deserted them in their hour of need. The consequence of this was that celebrated war which for thirty years desolated Germany, whose liberties were saved only by the valour of Gustavus Adolphus and of his generals, and the policy of that great statesman Richelieu,—a service which that country was, however, obliged to repay, by giving up Alsatia to France, and its finest northern provinces to Sweden. The treaty of Westphalia, which terminated the war of thirty years, regulated with great minuteness the relations between the Roman Catholics and Protestants of Germany, securing the rights of the smallest community in that country, but containing not a single word in favour of the Bohemian Protestants. No stipulation whatever was made, either for their religious

freedom, or even for the smallest compensation to those who had been driven into exile and deprived of their property, for the sake of that very cause, the rights of which were secured by that celebrated treaty. These advantages were, however, only for the Germans; and it seems that the Bohemian Protestants, being Slavonians, were deemed unworthy of sharing them. They could, indeed, exclaim with the prophet of old,—“I called on my friends, but they did not listen to me.” Had the days of that truly Christian hero Gustavus Adolphus been prolonged, the fate of Bohemia would have been different; but the principal author of the Westphalian treaty seems to have acted on that occasion in accordance with his celebrated saying, *Quantilla sapientia regitur mundus*, for no policy is wise which is not founded upon justice. This circumstance awakens in a Slavonic mind a painful reflection, namely, that the Bohemians were treated on that occasion by the Swedes and Germans, with whom they were connected by religious ties, in the same manner as the Poles have been in our days by the nations of western Europe, who have evinced such strong sympathies in their favour, and whose most evident interest it was to support them. It is a remarkable fact, the importance of which seems not to have been observed by the writers of western Europe, that in the fifteenth century, when religious opinions still powerfully influenced political transactions, the Roman Catholic Poles supported and allied themselves on many occasions with the Hussite

Bohemians against the Roman Catholic Germans, whilst neither community of religious opinions, political sympathies, nor even identity of interests, could ever secure to the two above-mentioned nations any support against their enemies from the powers and nations of western Europe, though they made no scruple in using them as tools for their selfish ends. Is it then really true, that those Slavonians who are now struggling for their rights must no longer look for assistance to the west, but turn their regard to that great Slavonic nation, the progress of whose power they had hitherto strenuously opposed? This is an opinion which is rapidly growing amongst the western and southern Slavonians, and recent events have not been calculated to stop its progress.

The sufferings which Bohemia underwent during the war of thirty years were beyond description severe. The unfortunate country was ravaged with no less barbarity by the Protestant Swedes and Saxons than by the Roman Catholic bands of Tilly and Wallenstein. The number of large and small towns, which at the beginning of the war had been computed at seven hundred and thirty-two, was reduced to less than the half of it; out of thirty-four thousand seven hundred villages, only about six thousand remained; and the population sunk from about three millions to nearly seven hundred and eighty thousand souls.

A great number of Germans, attracted by the new landowners and the patronage of the Go-

vernment, settled on the waste lands of Bohemia, and gradually re-peopled its desolated towns; the consequence of which was, that whole districts were so entirely Germanized, that not a single inhabitant of them spoke Bohemian. The public education was entirely in the hands of the Jesuits, whose systematic hostility to the Slavonic nationality of Bohemia I have related (note, page 157). It was therefore natural that all the upper and middle classes should become entirely Germanized, and that the national language, although not legally abolished,* should be in imminent danger of sharing the fate of its sister dialect, which had been spoken by the Slavonians of the Baltic (page 10). Fortunately it was saved by the efforts of some patriotic individuals, at the head of whom I may unhesitatingly place the excellent Balbinus, whom I have already several times mentioned. He vindicated in a separate treatise the claims of his national language, pointing out all its merits, and the absurdity as well as injustice of the attempts which were made to destroy it. Several patriots continued to labour in the same cause, amongst whom stands conspicuous Field-Marshal Kinsky. The Emperor Joseph the Second in 1781 proclaimed his edict of tole-

* The Bohemian language was declared by repeated ordinances to have the same rights as the German, but, practically, its use was superseded, except in the communications of the local authorities with the uneducated classes, understanding only their national idiom.

ration, in consequence of which many persons in Bohemia who had secretly professed Protestantism openly declared their religious persuasion. It is supposed that this monarch was for some time undecided whether he was to introduce the Bohemian or German language for official purposes throughout the whole extent of his empire. The idea of forcing one and the same language upon the different nationalities, entirely distinct from each other by origin and language, which compose the population of the Austrian States, was undoubtedly preposterous. Joseph, however, resolved to execute such a scheme; and for this purpose he adopted the German, in preference to the Bohemian, which was natural enough, considering the inferior condition into which the latter had fallen, although it is easily understood by the majority of the Austrian population, composed of Slavonians, to whom German is an entirely unknown tongue. In consequence of this resolution, German was substituted for Latin as a medium of instruction at the University of Prague, and introduced for the same purpose into schools of every description, not excepting the primary ones; whilst all children who had not been taught German were prohibited from being admitted to the Latin schools,* and even from being apprenticed to trades. Thus the greatest opponent of the Jesuits devised a measure more destructive to the Slavonic nationality of Bo-

* The same as the English grammar schools.

hemia than all the means which these fathers had employed for that very purpose during a century and a half. This open aggression upon the Bohemian language raised the national spirit; and great efforts have been continually made since that time to promote the national language and literature. The ordinance of Joseph was withdrawn with the rest of his plans; but the impulse given to the national literature continued with increasing energy, so that it has already reached a high degree of development, and produced a great number of very valuable works. The principal noblemen of Bohemia have displayed great zeal in promoting the national literature; and it is very remarkable, that many descendants of those foreigners who had received estates in Bohemia, for the services which they had rendered to the Austrian dynasty in suppressing the religious and political liberties of that country, now rank amongst its most ardent patriots, and the most zealous promoters of the Slavonic nationality of their country, which had been nearly destroyed by their own ancestors. One of the most striking instances of what I have said is, that Count Buquoi, a lineal descendant of the same Buquoi who defeated the national party of Bohemia at the battle of Weisemberg in 1620, one of the wealthiest landowners of that country, and known as the author of several scientific works, is now considered as the head of the national party; so much so, that after the insurrection in Prague in

June last year (1848), he was imprisoned by the Austrian Government, on suspicion of being the chief of a conspiracy formed by the Slavonic party of Bohemia, in order to place him on the throne of that country. This charge was disproved, and Count Buquoi liberated; but it shows the high degree of popularity which the descendant of the conqueror of Bohemia now enjoys with the patriots.

The recent events of Austria gave the Bohemians an opportunity of obtaining the full restoration of the rights of their nationality; and it is now acknowledged on all hands, that the Bohemian patriots have shown a better organization, and more tact, than any other political party in Austria.

No one can predict at this moment what turn the affairs of Austria may take. One thing, however, is certain, that it cannot be German; for the Slavonic populations, which have displayed during these late events the greatest loyalty to the Austrian dynasty, have done so because they expect to receive by it the full enjoyment of their nationality; and the latest news from Croatia fully confirm what I ventured to predict more than a year ago, that the Slavonians will no more consent to become Germans than Magyars;* and I may add to this, that if the political movement which now agitates Bohemia be allowed to develop itself in a peaceful manner, and lead to a really

* *Panslavism and Germanism*, p. 193.

constitutional government, it must soon be followed by one of a religious nature, and bring about in the Church a change similar to that of the State, and towards which there is a strong tendency amongst the most enlightened minds of Bohemia.

LECTURE THIRD.

POLAND.

THE ecclesiastical history of Poland contains not that stirring interest which is presented by the contest of religious and political parties in Bohemia ; but it conveys lessons of far greater importance for the present time than those which may be gathered from the great exploits of the Hussites, or the overthrow of Protestantism in Bohemia by Ferdinand the Second, as well as the melancholy consequences which that event brought upon the country. The battle of Protestantism was fought and lost in Poland, not by a physical struggle, but by a moral contest,—not by the sword and the cannon, but by what is now called *peaceful agitation*, though occasionally degenerating into acts of violence ; in short, by the same means which are now employed for the same object in Great Britain, and in every free country, although modified, to a certain extent, by circumstances peculiar to the age and the country in which that contest took place. It is on

this account that the history of Protestantism in Poland should, I think, have a greater interest for the British public than the relation of all those bloody wars by which its triumph or fall was brought about in other countries. It furnishes not only, like that of Bohemia, an additional evidence of this great truth, that the spread of scriptural religion has always and everywhere powerfully contributed to the intellectual, and consequently political and material development, of the nations amongst which it has taken place, and that its decline and suppression have produced corresponding effects upon that development; but also another no less important though melancholy truth, namely, that in a moral as much as in a physical contest, it is not the best, but the best defended cause, which has the greatest chance of success. And, indeed, the events which I am about to relate will sufficiently show that the most ardent zeal, and talents of the highest order, when acting separately and without a fixed plan, are generally unable to withstand a system having a determined object, which, combining all individual efforts into one whole, directs them to one and the same end; and that a well-organized and disciplined force generally overcomes, not only in a physical struggle, the most daring courage of irregular bands, but also, in a moral contest, the isolated efforts of the most talented and zealous individuals.

Christianity appears to have penetrated into Poland from Great Moravia in the ninth century, and to have been already very prevalent

in the tenth ; for its sovereign, Mieczyslav the First, received baptism in 965, not by the persuasions of some foreign missionaries sent to convert him and his country, but by the influence of the native Christians of Poland. He married, at the same time, the daughter of the Christian monarch of Bohemia, and was baptized by a Bohemian priest. It was natural that the national Slavonic Church, established in Bohemia by the labours of Methodius and Cyrillus (page 44), should have extended to Poland, where it had already many followers, converted by Moravian missionaries, and whose number was considerably increased by the Christian fugitives from Moravia, who sought an asylum in Poland, after the conquest of their own country by the still unconverted Magyars. The intimate relations which then existed between the Polish sovereigns and the German empire,* soon gave a paramount influence to the German Church over Poland, whose first bishop (of Posen) was placed under the spiritual jurisdiction of the archiepiscopal see of Mayence, and afterwards transferred to that of Magdeburg. The first convents of that country were filled with Benedictine monks from Clugny, in France ; and a great number of regular and secular clergy continually flocked from Italy and France, but particularly from

* Mieczyslav acknowledged the sovereignty of the German emperor for the lands beyond the river Varta, and took part in the diets of the empire as one of its members. This feudal connection was severed under the following reign.

Germany, to Poland, where for a considerable time all ecclesiastical preferments were in their possession. The influx of German clergy became so great, that not only the convents, but also a large number of parishes, were occupied by them. These ecclesiastical adventurers were more intent on promoting the interests of their countrymen than the religious instruction of the natives; because there were convents established in the midst of Poland, whose inmates were not only all Germans, but which made a positive rule of admitting only their own countrymen;* and there are extant pastoral letters, issued by the Polish bishops during the thirteenth century, which enjoin the parish clergy to preach in the national, and not in the German language, unknown to their congregations,† and prohibit the appointment to parish churches of priests unacquainted with the language of the country. It was very natural that this foreign clergy should have strongly supported the pure ritual of Rome against the national Churches, which, however, continued to maintain their existence till the fourteenth century. This at least is the opinion of the most learned Polish antiquaries, amongst whom I may particularly quote the Rev. M. Juszynski, a Roman Catholic clergyman, well known for his deep learning and acute criti-

* I give this statement on the evidence of a German writer, Roepel, *Geschichte Polens*, vol. i. page 572.

† The memory of this circumstance is preserved in a popular proverb, which, in order to designate something unintelligible, says, *This is a German sermon.*

cism, who states, on unquestionable authority, that the reformers of the sixteenth century adopted for the use of their congregations many canticles of the ancient Polish national Churches; which proves that their memory was then still very recent; and he assures us that Polish breviaries were frequently used before the end of the fifteenth century. I have mentioned, in speaking of Bohemia, that the influence of the Waldensians extended to Poland; and I have described the intercourse of the Hussites with the same country. The most remarkable circumstance in that connection was the public disputation between the Hussite delegates and the doctors of the University of Cracow, which took place in that city in 1431, in the presence of the king and the Senate. The Polish historian, Bishop Dlugosh, who relates that event, says, that the conferences, which were almost continually held in Polish, lasted several days, and that although, according to the opinion of all present, the heretics were vanquished, they never acknowledged their defeat. Another Hussite embassy arrived in Poland in 1432, proposing to the king, Vladislav Jaguillon, an alliance against the German knights, and announcing to him that the Council of Bale had admitted their deputies. This last-named circumstance induced the Archbishop of Gniezno and several bishops to admit the Hussite delegates to their churches; but when they arrived at Cracow, the bishop of that place proclaimed the interdict, as long as the heretics should remain within the walls of that city.

The king, who wished to conclude an alliance with the Hussites, was so irritated against the bishop, that he intended to put him to death, but was dissuaded from committing this act of violence. The projected alliance did not take place; but a Polish ambassador was sent to Bale, in order to support the Hussites (page 116). It was very natural that the continual friendly intercourse with the Hussites should spread their doctrines in Poland,—a fact which is attested by the regulations issued on several occasions by the Roman Catholic clergy against the progress of those doctrines. These regulations enjoined the parish priest to imprison and bring before the bishops all those who were suspected of favouring the new doctrines. It was forbidden to have any intercourse with Bohemia or the Bohemians, and it was particularly recommended carefully to examine the books used by the parish priests. The influence of the clergy obtained from the civil authority severe enactments for the punishment of the heretics; but the records of that period mention only a single act of bloody persecution against the Hussites, committed in a time of general trouble, on the sole authority of a bishop.* Several great families openly favoured the Hussite doctrines; and their party,

* Andreas Bninski, bishop of Posen, collected nine hundred armed persons, besieged the town of Zbonszyn, and compelled the inhabitants to deliver to him five Hussite preachers, whom he publicly burnt. This took place in 1439, when the country was troubled by internal factions during the minority of the king.

headed by Melsztynski, a powerful grandee, had nearly triumphed, when its leader was killed in battle. Yet although the Hussite doctrines had been widely spread in Poland, they had not in that country the support of the national feeling, which gave them such strength in Bohemia, because the Polish nationality was not exposed to any struggle with the German element, as was the case in Bohemia,—a struggle which began with the affair of the University of Prague (page 55), and to which the execution of Huss, who was the leader, not only of the religious, but also of the national movement of Bohemia, gave this twofold character. These doctrines, however, recommended by the Slavonic affinities with Bohemia, and supported by their own merit, independent of all extraneous circumstances, were much spread in Poland, as is evident from the regulations of the Roman Catholic clergy to which I have already alluded (page 175); and there can be no doubt that they were entertained by many, and prepared the ground for the reformation of the sixteenth century.*

* A remarkable fact, that the earliest production of the Polish poetry extant, with the exception of the hymn to the Virgin,* is a little poem in praise of the English reformer, composed about the middle of the 15th century, by Andreas Galka Dobszynski, M.A. of the University of Cracow. As I am sure that it will not be uninteresting

* This celebrated hymn, which was generally sung by the Polish warriors before the beginning of the battle, and is supposed to have been composed by St Adalbert in the beginning of the eleventh century, has been translated into English by Dr Bowring, in his specimens of the Polish poets.

A powerful impulse to the advance of the national intellect in Poland was given by the establishment, in 1400, of the University of

to my English readers to see the impression produced by their great countryman in such a distant quarter as the author's native land, I shall give them the following translation of the poem in question, which I have made as literal as possible :—

“Ye Poles, Germans, and all nations ! Wickliffe speaks the truth ! Heathendom and Christendom have never had a greater man than he, and never will have one.

“Whoever wishes to know himself, let him approach Wickliffe ; whoever will enter the ways which he has pointed out, will never err.

“He has unveiled Divine wisdom, human knowledge, and things that were hidden to philosophers.

“He has written by inspiration about the ecclesiastical dignity, the sanctity of the Church, the Italian Antichrist, and the wickedness of the Popes.

“Ye priests of Christ, who are called in by Christ, follow Wickliffe.

“The imperial Popes are Antichrists ; their power is derived from the Antichrist,—from imperial German grants.

“Sylvester, the first Pope, took his power from the dragon Constantine, and diffused his venom over all the Churches. Led by Satan, Sylvester deceived the emperor, and got possession of Rome by fraud.

“We wish for peace,—let us pray to God ; let us sharpen the swords, and we shall conquer the Antichrist. Let us strike the Antichrist with the sword, but not with one made of iron. St Paul says, ‘ Kill the Antichrist with the sword of Christ.’

“Truth is the heritage of Christ. The priests have hidden the truth ; they are afraid of it, and they deceive the people with fables. O, Christ, for the sake of thy wounds, send us such priests as may guide us towards the truth, and may bury the Antichrist.”

The same author wrote a Latin commentary on the metaphysical works of Wickliffe, the manuscript of which is preserved in the library of the University of Cracow. He

Cracow, which produced Copernicus in about a century after its foundation. The chairs of this learned establishment were filled chiefly with natives of the country, which contained already many accomplished scholars, formed in the Italian universities and in that of Paris, but particularly at Prague, where the Poles had a college of their own. A great stimulus to learning was now given by the honours, emoluments, and prospects of preferment attached to the chairs of the University of Cracow, because the candidates to the vacant episcopal sees were generally chosen from amongst the most celebrated professors of that learned establishment. This encouragement to letters produced a noble result, for it gave to the

was obliged to retire from Cracow, but found a refuge at the court of Boleslav, prince of Oppeln, in Silesia, who professed the doctrines of Huss. I have extracted these particulars from the history of the Polish literature, by Professor Michael Wiszniewski, a pupil of the University of Edinburgh, and for a considerable time professor in that of Cracow. This work, which is certainly in no way inferior to the most celebrated productions of this kind, as, for instance, those of Tiraboschi, Ginghené, Sismondi, &c., has not, unfortunately, been brought to a conclusion by its accomplished author, who was induced by the present melancholy condition of our country to retire from his native land, and to settle in Italy,—a circumstance which is much to be deplored, because it is a truly national service which the author has rendered to his country by the work in question. May happier circumstances permit him to resume and to complete his useful labours for the benefit of his country and the advantage of general literature, though his own reputation has no need of any farther exertions in order to be firmly established in the literary world.

Polish Church, during the fifteenth century, many prelates distinguished for their piety, learning, and enlightened views. The most celebrated of them were Dlugosh, who rendered great services to his country by his patronage of learning, by several important diplomatic transactions, and by composing its Annals, a work which is well known to the historical students of all Europe; and Martin Tromba, archbishop of Gnesno, primate of Poland, who took a prominent part at the Council of Constance, but who is particularly remarkable for a project which he seems to have entertained of establishing in his country the worship in the national language, or at least of rendering the Latin liturgy intelligible to the generality of the people; for which purpose he ordered the liturgical books to be translated into Polish.* A remarkable proof of the enlightened views entertained by the Polish clergy of that period is the treatise which was presented to the Council of Constance, and publicly read on the 8th July 1418, by Paul Voladimir, doctor of law, rector of the University of Cracow, and canon of its cathedral, by which he disproved the principle main-

* A MS. of this translation was preserved at Warsaw in the library of Zaluski, so called from the name of two bishops, brothers, who collected it at great pains and expense. It was considered one of the richest in Europe, and the patriotic prelates by whom it had been formed gave it to the public; but, at the final dismemberment of Poland in 1795, this splendid library was transported to St Petersburg. This act of spoliation was effected in a very careless manner, and a great many valuable works were lost on that occasion.

tained and acted upon by the German knights, *that Christians were permitted to convert infidels by force of arms, and that the lands of the infidels lawfully belonged to Christians*; a principle upon which the Pope granted these knights the possession of Prussia, inhabited by a pagan population, and which, in virtue of that grant, they conquered and baptized, but reduced to the most oppressive bondage. The most striking evidence of the advanced state of intellect during the fifteenth century in Poland is, however, the project of reforming the Church, presented to the Polish Diet of 1459, by Ostrorog, palatine of Posen. In this project, although he did not touch either the dogma or the rites of the Roman Catholic Church, he unreservedly pointed out its abuses, and proposed reforms of such a decisive nature, that their adoption would have brought about a separation from Rome, perhaps more speedily than the boldest attacks of a dogmatic reformer.* There were

* In this plan of reforming the Church of Poland he maintained that, Christ having declared that his kingdom was not of this world, the Pope had no authority whatever over the King of Poland, and should not be even addressed by the latter in humble terms unbecoming his dignity: that Rome was drawing every year from the country large sums under the pretence of religion, but, in fact, by means of superstition; and that the bishop of Rome was inventing most unjust reasons for levying taxes, the proceeds of which were employed, not for the real wants of the Church, but for the Pope's private interests: that all the ecclesiastical lawsuits should be decided in the country, and not at Rome, which did not take "any sheep without wool:" "that there were, indeed, amongst the Poles people who respected the Roman scribblings furnished with red seals

in many countries private individuals who attacked the abuses of the Church without leaving its pale; but this was a public exposition of these abuses, made by a senator of the realm to the assembly of its States. It shows what spirit animated the Polish statesmen during that period; and it was undoubtedly owing to a similar disposition of his senate that King Casimir the Third was enabled to assist the excommunicated King of Bohemia, George Podiebrad (page 142), notwithstanding the most violent opposition of the Pope and the Polish bishops, and which he would not have dared to brave, if he had not been supported by

and hempen strings, and suspended on the door of a church; but that it was wrong to submit to these Italian deceits." He farther says,—“Is it not a deceit that the Pope imposes upon us, in spite of the king and the senate, I don't know what, bulls called indulgences? He gets money by assuring people that he absolves their sin; but God has said by his prophet,—‘My son, give me thy heart, and not money.’ The Pope feigns that he employs his treasures for the erection of Churches; but he does it, in fact, for enriching his relations. I shall pass in silence things that are still worse. There are monks who praise still such fables. There are a great number of preachers and confessors who only think how to get the richest harvest, and who indulge themselves, after having plundered the poor people.” He complains of the great number of monks unfit for the clerical office, saying, “After having shaven his head and endowed a cowl, a man thinks himself fit to correct the whole world. He cries, and almost bellows, in the pulpit, because he sees no opponent. Learned men, and even those who possess an inferior degree of knowledge, cannot listen without horror to the nonsense, and almost blasphemy, uttered by such preachers.”

what may be called the public opinion of his country.

It is evident from what I have said, that the ground for an ecclesiastical reformation was sufficiently prepared in Poland before this movement had commenced in Germany and Switzerland; and I am much inclined to believe that it would have originated in Poland without any impulse from abroad. And, indeed, it was virtually begun by a work published at Cracow in 1515, consequently two years before Luther had proclaimed his opposition to Rome, and which openly advocated the great principle of the Reformation,—“that the gospels alone must be believed, and that human ordinances may be dispensed with.”* The doctrines of Luther spread with great rapidity in the towns of Polish Prussia, inhabited chiefly by German burghers, and maintaining a frequent intercourse with Germany. At Dantzic, the principal city of that province, and which enjoyed, under the sovereignty of the Polish monarchs, a perfect self-government in all its internal affairs, the Reformation of Wittenberg made such progress, that in 1524 five churches were given up to its followers. The reformers, unfortunately, were blinded by their success, and, instead of prosecuting their advantages

* *Epistle of Bernard of Lublin to Symon of Cracow.* Two previous works, *De Vero Cultu Dei*, and *De Matrimonio Sacerdotum*, published at Cracow in 1504, also contained opinions which Rome considers as heresies.

by the same means with which they had gained them,—persuasion,—they resorted to violence, which gave to their movement a political character. Four thousand armed inhabitants surrounded the town-hall with pointed cannons, and compelled the council, composed of the aristocracy of the city, to dissolve themselves, and to sign a declaration, that it was by their own actions that they had provoked the insurrection. The new council, chosen from among the movement party, entirely abolished the Roman Catholic mode of worship, closed the monastic establishments, ordered that the convents and other edifices devoted to the use of the clergy should be converted into schools and hospitals, and declared the treasures of the Church to be public property, but left them untouched.

This revolution was not justifiable, because a very great part of the inhabitants of Dantzic adhered to the old Church, and had an indisputable right to enjoy the same religious liberty which the reformers claimed for themselves. The change of the ecclesiastical and political order, effected by the violent act of a party, and not by the deliberate votes of all the citizens, was as illegal as it was unjust, and could not be considered in any other light by the sovereign of the country, whatever might have been his personal views on religion.

The throne of Poland was at this time occupied by Sigismund the First, a monarch of noble and upright character and enlightened views. A deputation of the old town council of Dantzic,

dressed in mourning, appeared in his presence, supplicating him to save the city, which was going to be utterly ruined by the introduction of heresy, and to restore by his authority the ancient order of things. They assured him, at the same time, that the principal citizens, and a great part of the inhabitants, desired such a restoration. The king summoned the authors of the revolution to appear before his tribunal. They protested their loyalty, but did not obey the summons. They were outlawed by a diet ; and the king proceeded himself to Dantzic, restored the ancient order of things, whilst the principal leaders of the movement, tried before the royal tribunal, were either executed or banished.

This act of Sigismund the First was a purely political measure, and by no means a religious persecution ; and, indeed, had he allowed a revolution to take place without his consent in a town subject to his authority, it might have been followed by similar occurrences in other parts of his dominions, and seriously compromised the peace and safety of the whole country. He did not commit a single act of persecution against the disciples of Protestantism, which was spreading in different parts of his dominions ; and had the reformers of Dantzic contented themselves with promoting their cause in a peaceful manner, he would certainly never have interfered with them ; and indeed, although, in restoring the ancient order of things in that town, he prohibited heresy, yet when Lutheranism began, a few years afterwards, to be

again preached within its walls, and to spread amongst the inhabitants, he never molested them on that account, and Lutheranism became, under the subsequent reign, the dominant creed of that city, but without infringing upon the religious liberty of the Roman Catholics. Sigismund publicly declared his tolerant views in an answer given to the celebrated antagonist of Luther, John Eck, or Eckius, who dedicated to him a work against Luther, urging him to persecute the heretics, and recommending to him, as an example worthy of imitation, Henry the Eighth of England, who had just then published a work against the German reformer. In that answer he says, amongst others,—“Let King Henry write against Martin; but, with regard to myself, I shall be king equally of the sheep and goat.”

The advanced state of the national intellect, to which I have alluded, was very favourable to the reception of the doctrines of the Reformation in Poland, and their spread was particularly facilitated by its political condition; because perhaps no country in the world enjoyed at that time an equal degree of liberty with Poland. It is true that this liberty was confined to the class of nobles, but they could not be compared with the nobility or gentry of western Europe. They formed a kind of military caste, comprehending about the tenth part of the population of the country, which made the number of persons enjoying political rights, when compared with the rest of the inhabitants of the country, much larger than

that of the French who had been possessed of the electoral franchise before the introduction of universal suffrage. There were amongst them families possessed of wealth and influence equal to that which was enjoyed by the most powerful barons of feudal England ; whilst others tilled their land themselves. Yet, notwithstanding the greatest disparity of fortune, they were all equal in point of law. The house of the poorest was as much his castle as the palace of the richest, and his person was equally protected by the *neminem captivabimus*, or the Polish *habeas corpus*.*

This powerful body was no less jealous of the encroachments of the clergy upon its liberties than of those made by the royal authority, and this circumstance could not but facilitate the spread of new opinions on religious subjects. The towns, of which there were at that time many in a very flourishing condition, were governed by the municipal laws of Germany, which rendered them in their internal affairs little republics, because each of them was governed by elective magistrates, who administered justice in civil as well as in criminal cases.

A contemporary writer relates, that the works of Luther were publicly sold in the Uni-

* The *neminem captivabimus nisi jure victum* was established by the diet of 1431. According to this law, the king, who represented then not only the executive, but also the judicial power, could not imprison any noble except in case of being taken in *flagrante delicto* ; but was obliged to admit him to bail on a security proportional to the guilt of which he was accused.

versity of Cracow, read by many, and not disapproved by the Polish divines; and he adds, speaking of himself, that when he read these works out of curiosity, old opinions were in his mind gradually giving way to new ones.* This was the general disposition of the enlightened classes in Poland, but they were more doubting than convinced. A secret society, composed of the first scholars of the day, clergymen as well as laymen, met frequently to discuss religious subjects, and particularly the new anti-Romanist publications which appeared in different parts of Europe, and which they received through Lismanini, a learned Italian monk, confessor of Bona Sforza, queen of Sigismund the First, who took a very active part in these meetings. The Roman Catholic tenets, which have no scriptural foundation, were freely canvassed by that society; but at one of its meetings a priest, called Pastoris, a native of Belgium, attacked the mystery of the Trinity, as being inconsistent with the unity of the Supreme Being. This doctrine, new at that time in Poland, although already broached in the works of Servetus, startled in such a manner the members present, that they became mute with astonishment, perceiving with terror that such a proposition would lead to the subversion of revealed religion. It was adopted by several members of the above-mentioned society; and it laid in Poland the foundation of that sect whose opinions became afterwards known under

* Modrzewski.

the name of Socinianism, although neither Leilius nor Faustus Socinus may be considered as its true founders. On the other hand, this daring proposition had the effect of frightening many timorous minds, and deterring them from any farther attempt against Romanism, so that they preferred to remain within the pale of the Established Church, in spite of its acknowledged errors and abuses, rather than venture on a dangerous course, which might lead them to pure Deism, and reduce the gospel to a simple code of morality. There were many, however, who, firm of mind and inspired with true piety, resolved to search for the truth, not by the sole guidance of human reason, but by the test of holy Scripture.

At the time when this religious movement was agitating the minds of the superior classes at Cracow, a more powerful impulse to this movement amongst the bulk of the population was given, in the province of Posen, by the arrival of the Bohemian Brethren, whose expulsion from their own country I have related in the preceding lecture (page 133). The exiled Brethren, whose number amounted to about a thousand souls, left their country, and proceeded to Prussia, where its duke, Albert of Brandenburg, a zealous reformer, offered them an asylum. They were obliged to pass, on their way, through Posen; and when they arrived at that place, in June 1548, Andreas Gorka, supreme judge of the provinces of Great Poland,*

* Poland was politically divided into Great and Little Poland. The first of these provinces, comprehending its

a nobleman possessed of immense wealth, and who had already embraced the doctrines of the Reformation, received them with the greatest kindness, and located them on his estates. The Brethren publicly performed Divine service ; and their hymns chanted and their sermons preached in the Bohemian language, intelligible to the inhabitants of the country, gained for them at once the sympathies of the population. The Slavonic origin and language of the Bohemian Brethren gave them many advantages which Lutheranism, being of German growth, did not possess, and created reasonable hopes of converting the whole province where they had met with such an hospitable reception. But the Bishop of Posen, perceiving the danger with which his spiritual dominion was menaced by the presence of the Brethren, obtained from the king, Sigismund Augustus, who had just succeeded his father, Sigismund the First, an order that they should quit the country. This order might have been easily evaded, or its recall obtained ; but the Brethren, afraid of creating some disturbance, proceeded to Prussia, where its duke granted them the rights of naturalization, full religious liberty, and a church for their use ; whilst his patronage sheltered them from the attacks which the Lutheran divines began to make

western part, was thus called on account of its being the original seat of the Polish State, which gradually expanded towards the east and south, although its extent was smaller than that of Little Poland, comprehending the south-eastern part of the country.

upon their dogma.* Next year, 1549, many of the Brethren returned to Poland, where they had been so well received, and continued their labours unmolested. Their congregations rapidly increased; many of the principal families, as the Leszczynski, Ostrorog, &c., embraced their doctrines; and in a short time they established about eighty churches in the province of Great Poland, besides many others scattered throughout different parts of the country.

An accidental circumstance which took place about the same time greatly accelerated the diffusion of Protestant doctrines over all Poland. The students of the University of Cracow having got into a scuffle with the beaules of the rector, the latter made use of fire-arms, by which several students were killed. The students all united in demanding signal justice against the murderers of their comrades, accusing the rector of the University, who was a dignitary of the Church, of having ordered this crime. This accusation was disproved, and satisfaction was promised; but they were so irritated, that notwithstanding the efforts of several influential

* The protection of the duke sheltered the Bohemian Brethren from the persecution of the Lutheran divines of Prussia only till his death, after which the persecution was renewed. In 1568 they were prohibited from having public worship, ordered to sign the Twenty Articles of the Confession established in Prussia, and interdicted from having any communication with their brethren, either in Poland or Bohemia. This induced them to emigrate in 1574 to Poland, where their churches had rapidly increased amongst the cognate population, and where religious liberty was legally established.

persons, they left Cracow in a body, and, with the exception of some few who came back, repaired to the foreign universities, but particularly to the Protestant academy at Goldberg, in Silesia, and the newly erected University of Königsberg,* whence the greater part of them returned strongly imbued with Protestant opinions.

The influence which the Protestant opinions had acquired in Poland became apparent, when a priest in the vicinity of Cracow married, and was summoned for this act before the tribunal of the bishop of his diocese. He obeyed the summons, but appeared in company with so

* The University of Königsberg contributed much to the spread of scriptural knowledge in Poland. The first Polish Gospels and the first anti-Romanist works in that language appeared under the direction of that learned institution. It was established in 1544 by Albert, duke of Prussia, with the object of promoting Protestant principles and education amongst the German, Polish, and Lithuanian populations of Prussia. There is a curious anecdote attached to the foundation of this University. In those times the privilege of the Pope or the emperor seems to have been considered as indispensable to the foundation of a university; and Sabinus, the first rector of that of Königsberg, was so strongly impressed by this idea, that he applied to Cardinal Bembo, in order to obtain, by his instrumentality, from the Pope a charter for a university, established with the avowed object of opposing his authority. Bembo politely declined the ridiculous request. The emperor likewise refused to grant the demanded charter; but it was obtained from the king of Poland, Sigismund Augustus, who gave it as liege lord of the Duke of Prussia. It is curious that the charter for the erection of a Protestant university was countersigned by the Roman Catholic bishop Padniewski, Chancellor of Poland.

many influential friends, that the prosecution was abandoned. The first decided step against the Roman Catholic Church was made by Olesnicki, a wealthy nobleman, who turned out the nuns from a convent in the town of Pinozow, belonging to him, ejected the images from the church, and established the Protestant worship according to the Confession of Geneva. This example was followed by many, and Protestantism spread with an extraordinary rapidity, particularly in the province of Craeow.

The Roman Catholic clergy, whose unceasing denunciations of heresy, and citations before ecclesiastical tribunals of heretics, proved unavailing, convened, in 1551, a general Synod, presided over by the primate himself. It was on that occasion that Hozius, bishop of Ermland, and of whom I shall have but too much opportunity to speak, composed his celebrated confession of the Catholic faith, which has been confirmed by the Church of Rome as the true exposition of its creed. The Synod resolved that all the clergy, of whom many were suspected of heresy, should subscribe to this creed, and petition the king to exact its subscription from the laity. It adopted not only many resolutions for preventing the spread of heresy, but decided on making a real war against the heretic nobles, and on imposing for that purpose a considerable tax on the clergy. A most severe persecution was to be commenced against the heretics, and the king's assistance for this object was to be secured by the bribe of the confiscation of the property of the heretics.

The representations made by some moderate prelates about the danger of attacking such a powerful body as the Polish nobles, were silenced by the voice of passion. The Synod decided on putting into execution its violent resolutions; and the bishops filled the country with judicial citations against the clergy and nobles who had broken off their connection with the Roman Church. They were confirmed in their resolution by the court of Rome, which recommended, by an encyclical letter, the extirpation of heresy.

It was, however, more easy to pass such resolutions against heresy than to put them into execution, in a country where the liberty of the citizens was so fully established as it was in Poland. A few solitary instances of bloody persecution, perpetrated in the darkness of a convent or a dungeon, seem to have really occurred; but the first open attempt to arrest the progress of the reformers produced an effect quite contrary to that which had been intended by it. Stadnicki, an influential nobleman, established in his estates of Dobiecko* the reformed worship, according to the Confession of Geneva. Having been cited on that account by the bishop of his diocese, he offered to give a justification of his religious opinions; but the ecclesiastical tribunal rejected that offer, and condemned him, by default, to civil death and loss of property. Stadnicki denounced this act of the clergy in the

* In the present Austrian Poland.

strongest terms to an assembly of nobles, who perceived with terror the disposition manifested by the Church to assume a power that might prove more dangerous to their liberty than the authority of the monarch, which had always been the object of great jealousy on their part. The idea of becoming subject to the sway of a body which, directed by an irresponsible foreign leader, sought to usurp the right of deciding upon the life, property, and honour of the citizens, filled the minds of the Polish nobles with horror; and the outcry raised by the Protestant Stadnicki was re-echoed throughout Poland, even by those nobles who remained within the pale of the Roman Church. It roused a universal indignation against the clergy, and their pretensions became almost the exclusive subject of the discussions which took place at the elections of 1552.* All the country unanimously, and in a decisive manner, instructed their delegates at the diet to restrict the authority of the bishops.

The tendency of the diet of 1552, convened under such auspices, could not be doubtful for a moment; and the religious opinions of a great many of its members became immediately manifest. At the mass, which was usually performed before the opening of the deliberations, several nuncios turned away their faces

* The Polish Constitution, like that of Hungary, was not representative, but delegative, i.e. the subjects to be brought forward at the diet were not decided by its members, but by their constituencies, according to whose instructions the members were obliged to speak and to vote.

during the elevation of the host, whilst the monarch and the senate were bowing their knees before the Sacrament. Raphael Leszczyński, a nobleman of great wealth and influence, expressed his opinions in a still more decided manner, by covering his head during the most sacred ceremony of the Roman Church. The Roman Catholics dared not to reprove this open contempt of their worship; and the Chamber of Nuncios (the House of Commons) expressed its approval of that bold manifestation of anti-Romanist opinions, by electing as marshal or chairman of their chamber, the same Leszczyński, who had shortly before resigned his senatorial dignity, in order to become a nuncio.* This act removed every doubt about the real disposition of the majority of the diet; and, indeed, this disposition was so general, that parties opposed in politics agreed in their hostility to the episcopal jurisdiction, which it was now quite impossible to retain. The king, who was naturally inclined to moderation, tried to arrange this affair by conciliatory means; but having failed in this attempt, he statuted with the diet that the clergy should judge whether the doctrine was orthodox or heretical, but should not apply any temporal punishment to those whose creed it condemned. Thus religi-

* This R. Leszczyński adopted for his motto, *Malo periculosam libertatem quam tutum servitium*. He was a descendant of Wenceslav Leszczyński, who zealously defended Huss and the Council of Constance, and lineal ancestor of Maria Leszczyński, the virtuous queen of the profligate Louis the Fifteenth of France.

ous liberty for all confessions was virtually established in Poland in 1552, at a time when in other countries, even in Protestant ones, this liberty was exclusively enjoyed only by one favoured persuasion. The general opposition to the ecclesiastical authority had been greatly promoted by an individual who has obtained a considerable name in the religious and literary history of his time,—one who might have rendered great services to his country in respect to religion, literature, and politics, if his eminent talents had not been degraded by an uncontrollable violence of passion, and an utter want of principle.

Stanislaus Orzechowski, better known to learned Europe under his Latinized name of Orichovius,* was born in 1513, in the palatinate or county of Russia (present Galicia). He studied in the German universities, and was at Wittenberg a great favourite with Luther and Melancthon. He afterwards visited Rome, and returned to his country in 1543, thoroughly imbued with the doctrines of the reformers; but perceiving that they could not afford him any worldly advantage, whilst the Roman Church could dispose of wealth and honours in favour of its defenders, he took orders, and was promoted to a canonry. He soon, however, began to express his real opinions, and publicly married. He was excommunicated, and condemned to severe penalties; but he found such strong support amongst a great number of in-

* *Vide Bayle, art. Orichovius.*

fluent friends, that nobody dared to execute the sentence against the refractory priest; and his writings and speeches at many public meetings powerfully contributed to the establishment of religious liberty by the law of 1552. But before this event took place, Orzechowski became reconciled to the Roman Church. He was absolved from excommunication, and submitted his marriage to the authority of Rome; and a confirmation of it was promised him by the bishops, who did everything to seduce such a powerful writer from the Protestant party. The Pope, however, delayed to give a decision on that important subject, as he dared not allow such a dangerous precedent as the confirmation of a priest's marriage; and, moreover, Orzechowski was no longer so formidable as he had been before, having lost, by the change of his opinions, the extraordinary influence which he had enjoyed over the whole nation. He soon perceived that Rome wished only to amuse him, and he began again to attack it with powerful arguments and most bitter invectives.* His works were put into the

* In order to give an idea of the virulence of his style, I shall quote some passages of his letters to Pope Julius the Third:—"O, holy father, I conjure you, for God's sake, for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the holy angels, do read what I am writing to you, and give me an answer! Do not play any tricks with me. I shall not give you any money; I do not wish to have any bargains with you. You have taken gratis; you must also give gratis." In another place he addresses the same Pontiff:—"Consider, Julius, and consider it well, with what a man you will have to do,—not with an Italian,

papal index, and he was declared by the ecclesiastical writers to be the servant of Satan. But these proceedings only excited new and more vehement attacks on the part of Orzechowski against Pope Paul the Fourth; and he represented, in a work addressed to the king, that a Roman Catholic bishop, invested with the dignity of a senator of the realm, was necessarily a traitor to his country, as he was obliged to prefer the interests of the Pope to those of his sovereign, having sworn allegiance first to the Pope and then to the king.*

indeed, but with a Russine,†—not with one of your mean Popish subjects, but with the citizen of a kingdom where the monarch himself is obliged to obey the law. You may condemn me, if you like, to death; but you will not have done with me. The king will not execute your sentence. The cause will be submitted to the diet. Your Romans bow their knees before the crowd of your menials; they bear on their necks the degrading yoke of the Roman Scribes. But such is not the case with us, where the law rules even the throne. The king, our lord, cannot do what he likes; he must do what the law prescribes. He will not say, as soon as you will give him a sign with your finger, or twinkle before his eyes with the fisherman's ring, 'Stanislaus Orzechowski, Pope Julius wishes you should go into exile; go therefore.' I assure you that the king cannot do that which you wish. Our laws do not allow him to exile or to imprison any one who has not been condemned by a competent tribunal." All that Orzechowski said about the royal authority and the liberty of the subject in Poland was perfectly true; and I don't know whether any other country could at that time boast of the same degree of liberty.

* "The oath," says Orzechowski, addressing the king, "abolishes the liberty of the bishops, and renders them

† An allusion to his native province.

The clergy, to whom Orzechowski became very dangerous, particularly by couching his arguments in the most violent language, always acceptable to the multitude, were anxious to silence such a desperate antagonist, and to convert him into a useful tool for combating their enemies. The death of his wife removed a great obstacle to his reconciliation with Rome, and he returned to the obedience of a Church which was willing and able to reward the services of a zealous and talented defender. Orzechowski began now to attack the Protestants with the same virulence with which he had formerly assailed Rome.* He also advocated

spies upon the nation and the monarch. The higher clergy having voluntarily submitted to this slavery, have entered by it into a conspiracy, and raised a rebellion against their own country. Conspiring against you, they were sitting in your councils, they were investigating your plans, and reporting them to their foreign master. If you would, for the benefit of the public cause, limit the papal usurpation, they would proclaim their excommunication, and excite some bloody riots. The Pope has emitted from his bosom the monks, who fell on your lands like locusts. Look only on all those crowds who are conspiring against you ; how numerous and how barbarous they are ! Cast your looks on the abbots, convents, chapters, and synods ; and be assured, that as many shaven crowns you will meet, so many conspirators you have."

* "The abominable locusts of Arians, of Macedonians, Eutycheans, and Nestorians, have fallen on our fields. They increase and spread over all Poland and Lithuania, through the supineness of our magistrates. An insolent mob scatters fire, destroys the churches, perverts the laws, corrupts the manners, despises the authority, and degrades the government. It will overturn the throne. It is much more important to defeat the heretical furies than the Moscovite enemy."

the supremacy of the Pope over the monarchs of Christendom, in perhaps a bolder and more unreserved manner than it ever had been done by any writer of the same party.* The opinions which Orzechowski, pushed by the vehemence of his ungovernable passions, proclaimed without any disguise, must have considerable value in the eyes of every reflecting reader, because they may be considered as a faithful exposition of the principles by which the world would have been governed, if the Roman Catholic Church had succeeded in crushing its adversaries. He did, in fact, nothing more than proclaim the opinions which were entertained by that Church; and one of its greatest luminaries, Cardinal Hosius, of whom I shall have ample opportunity of speaking, gave his unqualified approbation to the propositions of Orzechowski. But why should we go back to the sixteenth century for

* Orzechowski says, "The king is established only that he should serve the clergy. The supreme pontiff alone establishes kings, and, as he establishes them, he has an authority over them. The hand of a priest is the hand of Jesus Christ himself. . . . The authority of St Peter cannot be subject to any other, but is superior to all; it pays neither tribute nor taxes. The mission of the priest is superior to that of the king. The king is the subject of the clergy; the king is nothing without the priest. The Pope has the right of depriving the king of his crown. The priest serves the altar, but the king serves the priest, and is only his armed minister," &c. &c. He represented the state in the form of a triangle, the top of which was held by the clergy, and the body constituted by the king and the nobles. The remainder of the nation was nothing, and he only recommended to the nobles to govern the people with a paternal rule.

proofs of what I have adduced? Has not the doctrine of the supremacy of the Pope over the monarchs of Christendom been defended in our days, to the same extent as it was done by Orzechowski, but in a more refined style, by authors of first-rate talent, such as the Count de Maistre, in his works *Soirées de St Petersburg* and *Du Pape*, and by the Abbé de Lamennais, before he changed from a defender of political and spiritual despotism to another extreme, with a versatility equal to that of Orzechowski, although not from interested motives?

This dangerous ally could not, however, restore the lost influence of the Roman Church in Poland, whose position, according to the evidence of its most zealous defenders, was quite desperate. The king, Sigismund Augustus, an enlightened and tolerant prince, evinced a strong leaning towards the doctrines of the reformers. The *Institutes* of Calvin were read to him, and commented upon by Lismaniai, a learned Italian, whom I have already mentioned (page 187); and he received in a very gracious manner letters addressed to him by Calvin. He was surrounded by Protestants, or such as were strongly inclined towards a reform of the Church, as, for instance, Francis Krasinski, who had been educated with him, studied under Melancthon, and, having entered the Church, became finally Bishop of Cracow. The reformers were in great hopes that the monarch would declare against Rome; but his principal objection to Protestantism was, the great disunion which prevailed amongst its ad-

herents. He entertained, however, a sincere desire to reform the Church by means of a national Synod. This wish was shared by a very great number of enlightened persons, not only amongst the laity, but also amongst the clergy. It was expressed by the diet of 1552, and it was revived at that of 1555, when the Chamber of Nuncios, or House of Commons, represented to the king the necessity of convoking a national Synod, presided over by the king himself, and which should reform the Church on the basis of the Holy Scriptures. Not only were the representatives of all the religious parties of Poland to be admitted to that assembly on equal terms, but it was even proposed to invite the most celebrated reformers of Europe, such as Calvin, Beza, Melancthon, and Vergerius, who was at that time in Poland. But the greatest hopes for introducing a reformation of the Established Church were placed in John Laski or Lasco, who had acquired a great reputation by having laboured for the advance of the same cause in Germany and England; and I therefore hope that a few details about this eminent countryman of mine will not be uninteresting to my readers.

The family of Laski produced during the sixteenth century several individuals who rendered their names conspicuous in the Church, in the council, and in the camp. John Laski, archbishop of Gniezno, published, when chancellor of Poland, the first collection of the laws of his country in 1506, well known under the name of the Statutes of Laski. He had three

nephews, all of whom acquired a European reputation. Stanislaus resided a long time at the court of Francis the First of France, accompanied that monarch to the battle of Pavia, and shared his captivity; after which he returned to his native land, where he was successively invested with the first dignities of the State. Jaroslav, whose extraordinary talents and acquirements as a warrior and a statesman were extolled by the first writers of his times, as Paul Jovius, Erasmus, &c. acquired a great celebrity for having been the main cause of the Turkish intervention in Hungary, which produced the first siege of Vienna by their army in 1529.* The third of the brothers

* After the death of Louis Jaghellon, king of Hungary, who perished at the battle of Mohacz in 1525, without leaving issue, a strong party elected John Zapolya, waiwode of Transylvania, who could not, however, maintain himself against Ferdinand of Austria, elected by an opposite party, and who, being married to a sister of the late king, succeeded to him in Bohemia, and was supported by his brother, the Emperor Charles the Fifth. Zapolya retired to Poland, where Jaroslav Laski proposed to him the project of replacing him on the throne of Hungary by the assistance of the Turks. Zapolya gave unlimited powers to Laski, and promised him, as a reward of his services, the sovereignty of Transylvania. Laski repaired to Constantinople, as the representative of an exiled monarch, having no advantages to offer, and everything to demand; and yet his negotiation was so successful, that, having arrived in December 1527, he signed a treaty of alliance against Austria on the 20th of February 1528, by which Sultan Solyman engaged to replace Zapolya on the throne of Hungary, without exacting that he should become the vassal of the Porte, but only acknowledge the sultan as a protector, or, according to

was John Laski the reformer. He was born in 1499 ; and being destined from his boyhood for the Church, he received a learned educa-

the expression used in the treaty, as an elder brother. It is very remarkable, that the rapid success of Laski's negotiation was chiefly facilitated by the Slavonic affinities, of which I have quoted several instances in the course of these lectures. The vizier and the principal officers of the Turkish State were at that time Slavonians of Bosnia, who, having embraced Islamism towards the end of the fourteenth century, became the most loyal subjects of the Porte, without abandoning their native language and a strong attachment to their Slavonic nationality. The Slavonic language was at that time as much spoken at the sultan's court as the Turkish ; and Laski could freely converse with the vizier and other Turkish grandees, who treated him as a countryman. Laski left a diary of this negotiation, which contains the following remarkable words, addressed to him by Mustapha Pasha, a native of Bosnia, who greatly contributed to the success of his negotiation :—" We are of the same nation. You are a Lekh,* and I am a Bosnian. It is therefore a natural affection that one loves more his own than another nation." These words, addressed by a Mahomedan Slavonian, invested with a high dignity in the Turkish empire, to a Christian Pole, prove the strength of the Slavonic affinities, and to what account they might be turned by a monarch or cabinet who knew how to take advantage of the circumstance. In consequence of this treaty, a Turkish army replaced Zapolya on the throne of Hungary, and even laid siege to Vienna, which had nearly been taken. Zapolya, however, forgot what he owed to Laski, or perhaps he could not bear to owe him so much. Laski, instead of receiving the principality of Transylvania as a reward of his services, was accused of dangerous machinations, and confined in a castle, although treated with all the consideration due to his rank. He was released through the efforts of some influential friends. His inno-

* An ancient name of the Poles, given to them by the Russians, and adopted by the Turks.

tion, and afterwards visited different parts of Europe, where he became acquainted with the most eminent scholars of that time. In 1524 he was introduced in Switzerland to Zwinglius, who sowed in his mind the first doubts about the orthodoxy of the Roman Church. He spent the year 1525 at Bale, with Erasmus, in whose house he lived, and who entertained for him a regard bordering on enthusiasm. Laski showed

cence was proclaimed by royal letters patent ; and he received as an indemnity for the sums he had expended in the service of Zapolya, the towns of Kesmark and Debreczyn. Laski's haughty spirit could not, however, be appeased by an act of justice wrung with difficulty from a monarch who owed to him the throne. He left the service of Zapolya, and resolved to undo his own work by depriving him of the Hungarian crown. He therefore repaired to his antagonist, Ferdinand of Austria, who received such a valuable ally with open arms. In 1540, when Ferdinand was assembling an army for re-conquering Hungary, Laski went as his ambassador to Constantinople, in order to prevent Solyman from giving assistance to Zapolya. His appearance at the Ottoman Court in a capacity diametrically opposed to that in which he had acted twelve years before, excited the anger and suspicion of the sultan, who ordered him to be imprisoned. His life was even for some time in danger ; but he succeeded in appeasing the sultan's anger, and received from him marks of favour. He fell, however, dangerously ill at Constantinople ; and having returned to Poland, he died in 1542, from the effects of this illness, which was strongly suspected to have originated from poison. His son, Albert Laski, palatine of Sieradz, visited England in 1583, where Queen Elizabeth received him with great distinction. The honours which were shown to him at Oxford, by the special command of the queen, were equal to those rendered to sovereign princes. (*Vide Wood's History and Antiquities of Oxford*, English translation, vol. ii. p. 215-18.)

the value which he attached to the friendship of Erasmus, by administering to his wants with as much generosity as refinement. He not only paid with great liberality for the expenses of house-keeping during his residence in Erasmus's house, but he purchased the library collected by that celebrated scholar, leaving to him its use during his lifetime;* and it was probably from Erasmus that he derived that great mildness and suavity by which all his proceedings, notwithstanding their strength of purpose, were characterized, and to which, as is apparent from Erasmus's letters, he was naturally disposed.

Laski returned to Poland in 1526, with a strong bias towards the doctrines of Protestantism. He remained, however, in the Established Church, entertaining a hope that it would be possible to effect its reformation without seceding from the obedience of Rome; and it was in accordance with that opinion that Erasmus

* The letters of Erasmus contain expressions of the greatest admiration for the talents and character of Laski. He says that, being an old man, he learnt many things from young Laski, and improved by his company. Although Laski was then only twenty-six years old, he seems to have been already favourably known to the most eminent persons of his time, as is evident from a letter of Erasmus to Margaret of Navarre, sister of Francis the First of France, on the occasion of the capture of her royal brother at Pavia, and in which he mentions the letters written by that queen to John Laski, who then lived in his house. It is probable that Laski became acquainted with the Queen of Navarre through his brother Stanislaus, who, as I have mentioned, was attached to the court of Francis the First.

was induced by him to represent to the Polish monarch, although very cautiously, the necessity of some reforms. The influence of his family connections, united with his own merit, would have certainly raised Laski to the first dignities of the Polish Church, and his preferment in it was rapid, for he was nominated by the king, Bishop of Cujavia. But he presented himself to the monarch, and frankly stated to him his religious views, which would not permit him to accept the proffered dignity. The king respected the motives of Laski, and presented him with letters of recommendation to several monarchs. He left his country in 1540, and declared his adherence to the Protestant Church as it was established by the reformers of Switzerland, and completed his separation from Rome in 1540, by marrying at Mayence. Laski's extensive and diversified information, his upright character, and the friendly intercourse which he maintained with the first scholars of his time, acquired for him a great reputation amongst the Protestant princes, who sought to attract him to their States. The sovereign of East Friesland, where the reformation of the Church had been in some degree commenced in 1528, desired Laski to complete that work. Laski hesitated a long time to undertake this arduous task, pointing out his friend Hardenberg as a fit person for it, till at last, induced by the entreaties of the sovereign and the principal inhabitants of the above-mentioned country, he accepted the proffered charge in 1543, and was nominated superintendent of

all its churches. The difficulties which he had to encounter in accomplishing the reformation of the Churches of Friesland were indeed very great ; for he was obliged to struggle against the marked reluctance to the entire abolition of Romanist rites, many of which were still retained by the Churches of that country,—against the corruption of the clergy,—and, above all, against the lukewarmness in religious matters which prevailed amongst many persons. The uncompromising zeal of the Polish reformer, and his perseverance, unshaken by any disappointment, succeeded, after six years of hard struggle, in weeding out completely the remnants of Romanism, and in fully establishing the Protestant religion. During that period, interrupted by some intervals, in which Laski, disgusted by the obstacles which were continually thrown in his way, had been obliged to resign his office, he abolished the worship of images, introduced an improved order of hierarchy and Church discipline, established a pure scriptural mode of receiving communion and of explaining its meaning, and determined a confession of faith ; so that he may be considered as the real founder of the Protestant Church of Friesland.

The confession of faith which Laski drew up for the Churches of Friesland maintained the same doctrine about the communion that has been adopted by the reformers of Switzerland and the Anglican Church ; and it raised, on that account, violent indignation amongst the Lutherans. The divines of Hamburg and

Brunswick attacked Laski in the most abusive and coarse manner, which he answered by opposing argument to the low abuse of the Lutherans. A marked leaning towards Lutheranism began, however, to prevail amongst many inhabitants of Friesland, and this party rapidly increasing, loudly proclaimed the project of calling Melancthon, in order to establish the Lutheran mode of worship, instead of that which had been introduced by Laski. All these difficulties compelled the Polish reformer to resign the supreme direction of the ecclesiastical affairs of Friesland, and to limit his sphere of action to the ministry of a church at Emden, the capital of that country.

In 1548 Laski received a most flattering invitation from Archbishop Cranmer to join the many eminent reformers who were then called from several parts of the Continent to England, in order to complete the reformation of its Church. This invitation was chiefly made by the influence of Peter Martyr and Turner, the latter of whom particularly recommended Laski to the Protector, Somerset, who wrote himself on that occasion to the Polish reformer. Although Laski had still a strong party in Friesland, and enjoyed the favour of the sovereign princess, who was very reluctant to part with him, he resolved on accepting Cranmer's invitation. Being, however, uncertain as to the real principles on which the reformation of the English Church was to be effected, he decided on previously making only a temporary visit to England, in order to become thorough-

ly acquainted with the projects of the English reformers. He therefore took a temporary leave of the congregation whose minister he was, and repaired to England, where he arrived in September 1548. A residence of six months at Lambeth with Archbishop Cranmer established an intimate friendship between these two eminent reformers, who entirely coincided in their views on the reformation of the Church, in point of doctrine, as well as in that of hierarchy and ecclesiastical discipline. He returned to Friesland in April 1549, having produced in England a most favourable impression, which is evident from the high praises with which Latimer extolled him, in a sermon preached before King Edward the Sixth.*

Laski found the affairs of his congregation in a very dangerous state; and the introduction of the *Interim*† into Friesland accelerated his

* Latimer made way for his reception, and in one of his sermons before King Edward made honourable mention of him, using an argument proper for that audience, viz., how much it would tend to the bringing down of God's blessing upon the realm to receive him and such pious exiles as he "John A. Lasco was here, a great learned man, and, as they say, a nobleman in his country, and is gone his way again. If it be for lack of entertainment, the more the pity. I could wish such men as he to be in the realm, for the realm should prosper in receiving them. 'He that received you received me,' saith Christ; and it should be for the king's honour to receive them, and to keep them."—*Strype's Memorials of Cranmer*, page 236.

† The well known ecclesiastical regulation proclaimed by Charles the Fifth, after his victory over the Protestants, as a temporary enactment until the affairs of the

departure from that country. He visited several parts of Germany, and afterwards went to England, where he arrived in the spring of 1550.

Laski was appointed superintendent of the foreign Protestant congregation established at London; and his nomination, made by Edward the Sixth, on the 23d July 1550, was couched in the most flattering terms. The congregation received the church of Austin Friars, and a charter, conferring on them all the rights of a corporation. It was composed of French, Germans, and Italians, who found an asylum and liberal support from the English Government. The object of such a congregation was very important, and proves the enlightened zeal and extensive views of Cranmer, as it might easily have become the seed of reformation in those countries whence its members were obliged to flee.

Laski had considerable trouble in maintaining the liberty of his congregation, the members of which were repeatedly molested by the authorities of the parishes where they resided, to attend the local churches, and who, besides, frequently quarrelled amongst themselves. In the following year he was appointed one of the commissioners for the reformation of the ecclesiastical law, in conjunction with Latimer,

Church should be settled by a general council. It allowed to the Protestants of Germany the communion of two kinds, whilst it compelled them to receive all the Roman rites and tenets. It was abolished by the treaty of Passau in 1552.

Cheek, Taylor, Cox, Parker, Cook, and Peter Martyr. It seems that the position of Laski in England was very favourable, and that he took advantage of it in order to support learned foreigners, who were obliged to seek refuge there on account of their religion. Melancthon, in a letter addressed to Laski in favour of such exiles, alludes to this circumstance, and recommends himself to his patronage.

The demise of Edward the Sixth, and the accession of Mary, arrested the progress of the Reformation in England; but the congregation of Laski was permitted to leave the country without molestation. They embarked on the 15th September 1553, at Gravesend, whilst crowds of English Protestants were covering the banks of the Thames, and invoking on their bent knees Divine protection for the pious wanderers. A storm scattered their little fleet, and the vessel which bore Laski entered the Danish port of Elsinore. The King of Denmark received him favourably at an audience, and did not refuse an hospitable reception to the pilgrims; but his chaplain, Noviomagus, a zealous Lutheran, succeeded in changing the mind of his master. He violently attacked the Genevese Confession, at which Laski, being invited by the king, was present. Laski deeply felt this mean breach of hospitality committed by the Danish clergy, who did not limit their persecution to such a despicable proceeding as to insult a man in misfortune, but proposed to him to abandon what they called his heresy. The apology for his creed, which Laski present-

ed to the king, did not soften the *odium theologicum* of the Lutheran divines; and one of them, named Westphalus, called the wandering church of Laski the martyrs of the devil; whilst another of them, Bugenhagius, declared that they ought not to be considered as Christians. The congregation of Laski received intimation that the king would rather suffer Papists than them in his dominions; and they were obliged to embark, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, the children of Laski alone being permitted to remain till the return of more favourable weather. The same hatred of the Lutherans was shown to the congregation of Laski at Lubeck, Hamburg, and Rostock; and the Lutheran ministers, in whose minds theology seemed to have stifled Christianity, refused even to listen to their doctrine, condemning them without a hearing. Dantzic gave an asylum to the remnants of the unfortunate congregation; and Laski himself, who retired to Friesland, was received with every mark of respect and attachment. He thence sent to the King of Denmark a severe remonstrance against the unmerited treatment he had met with in his states; and he soon received an invitation from that great monarch of Sweden, Gustavus Vasa, to settle in his dominions, with a promise of full religious liberty to him and his congregation. Laski did not avail himself of this liberal offer, apparently intending to settle in Friesland, where he had laboured with so much advantage to the cause of the Reformation. The growing influence of Lutheranism, and

hostility from influential quarters, rendered his residence in Friesland very irksome, and he retired to Frankfort-on-the-Maine, where he established a church for the Belgian Protestant refugees.

Laski maintained a constant intercourse with many of his countrymen on religious and personal affairs, and enjoyed the regard of his sovereigns, to whom Edward the Sixth wrote during Laski's residence in England, bestowing upon him the greatest commendations. He never lost sight of his great object, which was to promote the cause of the Reformation in his own country as soon as a fit opportunity for action might present itself. When he engaged in his labours in Friesland, as well as in England, it was always with the express condition that he should be able to return to his native land, as soon as its religious affairs should render his presence useful and necessary.

During his residence at Frankfort, Laski was mostly engaged in attempts to unite the two Protestant Churches, *i. e.* the Lutheran and the Reformed. He was encouraged to promote this union by the letters of his sovereign, Sigismund Augustus, who considered such a union an important step towards an amicable settlement of the religious differences which agitated his kingdom, and which he had much at heart. This union was, moreover, of the greatest consequence to the Protestant cause in general, weakened as it was by the unfortunate dissensions between its two principal confessions. Induced by such motives, Laski presented to

the senate of Frankfort a memorial, wherein he proved that there was not sufficient cause for dividing the two Protestant Churches. A discussion on this important subject, fixed for the 22d May 1556, and favoured by several German princes, was expected to produce that desideratum. It is more than doubtful if such a result would have been obtained; but the Lutheran divine Brentius put a stop even to an attempt of this kind, by demanding that the Reformed Church should sign the Confession of Augsburg. This led to discussions, which widened the breach, instead of effecting a reconciliation. Laski, however, did not despair of effecting the desired union; and in order to make a last effort, he went to Wittenberg, having been induced by the Duke of Hesse to converse with Melancthon on this important subject. He was received with great distinction, but did not succeed in obtaining an official discussion on the subject in question. Melancthon, however, intrusted him with a letter to the King of Poland, to which he added the modified Confession of Augsburg, with the promise of adding a more ample explanation on that subject, if the king should decide on establishing the Reformation in his country.

... Before Laski returned to Poland, he published a new edition of his account of the foreign churches which he superintended in London, as well as after his expulsion from England, which he dedicated to his monarch, the senate, and all the states of his country. He explained, besides, in a calm and dignified man-

ner, but with strong argument, his views about the necessity of reforming the Church of Poland, and the motives which induced him to reject the doctrines and hierarchy of Rome. He maintained that the gospels alone were the true foundation of religious doctrine and of ecclesiastical discipline, and that neither tradition nor long-established custom could have any authority whatever; that even the evidence of the fathers of the Church was not decisive, as they have frequently expressed opinions widely different one from another, and had endeavoured to establish a complete unity of faith, without ever attaining this desideratum; that the surest means of removing every doubt and uncertainty was to investigate the doctrine and the organization of the primitive apostolical Church; that the words of the gospel cannot be expounded, and its sense extracted, by expressions entirely foreign to its spirit; and that councils and learned divines had in this respect committed many abuses. He also stated, that the Pope was raising great obstacles to the restoration of the gospel, which it was necessary to overcome; and that a very prosperous beginning to that effect was already made, the king not being adverse to the reform which was demanded by the greatest and best part of the nation. The reforms, however, should be carried on with great judgment, because every one who reasoned against Rome was not necessarily orthodox. It was necessary to take care that, instead of the old tyranny, a new one should not be raised, or that, on the other

hand, a too great indulgence should not give birth to atheism, to which many people seemed to have a great inclination. "The dispute," said he, "about the true meaning of the Eucharist being till now doubtful and indefinite, it is necessary to pray God that He may enlighten us on this important subject. However, the body and blood of our Lord are received only by faith; there is neither bodily nor personal presence in the communion." Besides this exposition of his religious principles, he added some explanations relating to himself; as, for instance, that he never was an exile from his country, but left it with the sanction of the late monarch, and that he had fulfilled in many countries the duties of a Christian pastor.

Such an eminent character as Laski was undoubtedly the most fit person to take the lead of the reformation in Poland; and it was natural that the Protestants should look to him with hope and admiration equal to the malice and hatred with which he was viewed by their antagonists, who were spreading the foulest calumnies against him. Laski arrived in Poland in the end of the year 1556; and as soon as his arrival became known, the bishops, excited by the papal nuncio Aloysius Lippomani, held a meeting, in order to deliberate about the manner of acting against "the butcher (carnifex) of the Church," as they called him. They represented to the king the dangers of the arrival of such a man as Laski, who, according to their version, was an outlawed heretic, and who, being expelled from every place, returned to his

native land in order to produce troubles and commotions; that he was collecting troops, in order to destroy the churches of the diocese of Cracow, intending to raise a rebellion against the monarch, and to spread riots and depredations over all the country. This representation produced no effect whatever upon the royal mind.

Laski was, soon after his return, intrusted with the superintendence of all the Reformed Churches of Little Poland. The united influence of his learning, moral character, and high family connections, particularly contributed to the spread and establishment of the tenets maintained by the Swiss reformers, amongst the higher classes in the land. The great objects which he kept steadily in view were, to unite all the Protestant sects of his country, and finally to establish a reformed national Church, modelled on the plan of that of England, of which he was a great admirer, and in which he continued to take an active interest to the end of his life.* The difficulties with

* He (A. Lasco) was alive at the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the English throne; and though he came not back then to England again, whence he departed upon King Edward's death, yet, according to the great interest he had there with the most eminent persons, and even with the queen herself, he neglected not by his letters to promote the Reformation, and to give his grave counsel in order thereto. And Zanchy, public professor at Strasburg, knowing the sway he held here, in a letter to him in the year 1558 or 1559, excited him in these words:—That he doubted not he had before now written to the queen, and given her his advice what he judged fit for the

which Laski had to cope were greatly increased by the rise of the anti-trinitarian doctrines amongst the Churches which he superintended, and against which he maintained a successful polemical struggle. He took an active part in many synods, and in the version of the first Protestant Bible in Poland. He also published several works, most of which are now lost. His death in 1560 terminated his unwearied exertions in the cause of the Reformation, and prevented him from executing the great designs for which he was making adequate preparations, and for which he was undoubtedly better qualified than any other man in his country. Unfortunately we have much less information about the exertions which he made after his return to Poland, than about the labours which he had performed in foreign countries. This scarcity of materials for illustrating the latter part of his life may be chiefly attributed to the careful destruction of all records relating to the Protestant doctrines

preservation of her kingdom, and for restoring the kingdom of Christ.' Yet he would not omit to pray him to do it again and again by his repeated letters. "For I know," said he, "how great is your authority with the English, and with the queen herself. Now, certainly, is the time that you, and such as you, should by your counsels help so pious a queen, and consult for the safety of so great a kingdom, yea, and succour the whole Christian Church, everywhere so afflicted and vexed; for we know that if Christ's kingdom be happily introduced into the kingdom of England, no small aid will thence come to all the other Churches dispersed through Germany, Poland, and other countries." (*Vide Strype's Memorials of Cranmer*, pages 238-39.)

and their promoter, which was systematically carried on by the Roman Catholic clergy, but particularly by the Jesuits. This must especially have been the case with Laski, as his descendants, having turned Romanists, have undoubtedly endeavoured to destroy all that referred to the labours of their ancestor, whom they naturally considered as an heretic.*

The convocation of the national synod, promoted by Laski, and even by many who, remaining within the pale of the Roman Catholic Church, wished for the establishment of a national one, was strenuously opposed by Rome and its partizans. The Pope, Paul the Fourth, despatched to Poland one of his ablest servants, Lippomani, bishop of Verona, and sent letters to the king, the senate, and the most influential noblemen of the country, promising that he would effect all necessary reforms, and restore the unity of the Church by a general council ; but the fallacy of such a promise was ably exposed by the celebrated Italian reformer Vergerio,† who was then in Poland. The

* Laski was twice married ; the second time in England. He left nine children, of whom the most remarkable was Samuel Laski, who served with distinction in the armies of his country, and was employed in some very important diplomatic missions. The family of Laski, whose immense riches were exhausted by their ambitious projects, dwindled into comparative insignificance, and became Roman Catholic. There is, however, as I understand, one branch of that family which continues in the Protestant confession.

† *Vide M'Crie's Reformation in Italy.*

Pope's letter* to the king is very remarkable, giving a good idea of the advanced state of Protestantism in Poland at that time, and an

* The contents of this letter are as follows :—" If I am to credit the reports that reach me, I must feel the most profound grief, and even doubt of your own and your realm's salvation. You favour heretics ; you assist at their sermons ; you listen to their conversation, and you admit them to your company and board ; you receive their letters, and you write to them ; you suffer their works, sanctioned with your name, to be read and circulated ; you do not forbid heretical assemblies, conventicles, and preachings. Are you not, therefore, yourself a supporter of the rebels and antagonists of the Catholic Church, since, instead of opposing, you assist them ? Can there be a greater proof of your attachment to the heretics than this, that, contrary to your oath and the laws of your country, you grant the first dignities of the State to infidels ? Indeed, you animate, you feed and spread heresy, by the favours you bestow on heretics. You have nominated, without waiting the confirmation of the apostolic see, the Bishop of Chelm to the bishopric of Cujavia, although he is infected with the most abominable errors. The Palatine of Vilna (Prince Radziwill), a heretic, the defender and chief of heresy, is entrusted by you with the first dignities of the country. He is Chancellor of Lithuania, Palatine of Vilna, the most intimate friend of the king in private and in public, and may be considered in some measure as regent of the kingdom, and the second monarch. You have abolished the jurisdiction of the Church, and you have allowed, by an enactment of the diet, every one to have such preachers and such worship as he may choose. John Laski and Vergerius have arrived by your orders in your country. You have given to the inhabitants of Elbing and Dantzic an authorization to abolish the Roman Catholic religion. Should my admonition against such crimes and scandals be despised, I shall be obliged to make use of different and more effective means. You ought to change your proceedings altogether. Give no faith to those who wish you and your realm to rebel against the Church and against true religion ; execute the ordinances of your

additional evidence, if that were necessary, of the real nature of the papal pretensions, which, as is the boast of the Roman Catholic Church, are unchangeable.

Lippomani's mission was not without effect. He re-animated the wavering courage and fainting zeal of the clergy, increased the vacillation of the king by assuring him that Rome would grant such concessions as might be proved to be indispensably necessary, and even succeeded, by his intrigues, in fomenting discord amongst the Protestants; and he neutralized the activity of those who remained in the Church of Rome only because they expected that a national synod would reform its abuses, by assuring them that a general council would introduce all the necessary ecclesiastical reforms. His advice to the king to extirpate heresy by acts of violence against its leaders, having become known, raised against him a violent hatred throughout the country, so that when he en-

most pious ancestors; abolish all the innovations which have been introduced into your kingdom; restore to the Church its suspended jurisdiction; take from the heretics the churches which they have usurped; expel the teachers which infect the country with impunity. What necessity have you to wait for a general council, when you possess ready and efficient means to extirpate heresy? Should, however, our present admonition remain without effect, we shall be obliged to make use of those arms which the apostolic see never employs in vain against the obstinate rebels to its authority. God is our witness that we have not neglected any means; but as our letters, embassies, admonitions, and prayers, have been without effect, we shall have recourse to the utmost severity. (*Vide Raynaldus ad ann. 1556.*)

tered the Chamber of Nuncios of the diet of 1556, he was received with a general outcry,—“*Salve, progenies viperarum!*”—welcome, generation of vipers! He assembled a general synod of the Polish clergy in the town of Lowicz, which expressed bitter lamentations about the internal and external dangers of the Church, and passed many resolutions for improving its condition and coercing the heretics. The attempt which the synod made to assert its jurisdiction proved, however, unsuccessful. Lutomirski, a canon of Premysl, was cited, on suspicion of heresy, to appear before the synod. Lutomirski seized that opportunity publicly to declare his Protestant opinions; and he arrived with a large number of friends, each of whom was provided with a Bible, as the most efficient arms against Romanism. The synod dared not to open the prosecution against such a bold antagonist of Rome; and the doors of the hall where he was to be tried were closed against the accused and his friends.

Having failed to assert its jurisdiction in a case of heresy, the synod tried it with lamentable success in a case of sacrilege. In order to have a better chance of attaining their object, the clergy now chose their victim from amongst the inferior class of society. Dorothy Lazecka, a poor girl, was accused of having obtained from the Dominican monks of Sochaczew* a host, feigning to receive communion. It was said

* A little town between Lowicz and Warsaw, thirty-eight English miles from that capital.

that she wrapped that host in her clothes, and sold it to the Jews of a neighbouring village, by whom she had been instigated to commit this act of sacrilege by the bribe of three dollars and a gown embroidered with silk. This host was said to have been carried by the Jews to the synagogue, where, being pierced with needles, it emitted a quantity of blood, which was collected into a flask. The Jews tried in vain to prove the absurdity of the charge, arguing, that as their religion did not permit them to believe in the mystery of transubstantiation, they never could be supposed to try a similar experiment on the host, which they considered as a mere wafer. The synod, influenced by Lippomani, condemned them, as well as the unfortunate woman, to be burnt alive. The iniquitous sentence could not, however, be put into execution without the *exequatur*, or the confirmation, of the king, which could not be expected to be obtained from the enlightened Sigismund Augustus. The Bishop Przerembski, who was also vice-chancellor of Poland, made a report to the king of the above-mentioned case, which he described in expectation of a pious horror, entreating the monarch not to allow such a crime committed against the Divine Majesty to go unpunished. Myszkowski, a grand dignitary of the crown, who was a Protestant, became so indignant at this report, that he could not restrain his anger, and was only prevented by the presence of the king from using violence against the prelate, the impiety and ab-

surdity of whose accusation he exposed in strong language. The monarch declared that he would not believe such absurdities, and sent an order to the *Starost* (chief magistrate or governor) of Sochaczew to release the accused parties; but the vice-chancellor forged the *exequatur*, by attaching the royal seal without the knowledge of the monarch, and sent an order that the sentence of the synod should be immediately carried into execution. The king, being informed of this nefarious act of the bishop, immediately despatched a messenger to prevent its effects. It was, however, too late; and the judicial murder was perpetrated.

This iniquitous affair has been recorded by Protestant as well as Roman Catholic writers. The well-known ecclesiastical historian Raynaldus, who wrote by the order of the Court of Rome, and published his work with its approbation, gives an account of this scandalous affair, and remarks, that this splendid miracle had most opportunely happened in Poland, and that the Almighty God had willed to confound by it those who foolishly demanded the communion of both kinds, as it was proved by this miracle that the body and blood of Christ were contained in either of the kinds. Comment is superfluous on these remarks of the learned historian of the Roman Church.*

This atrocity filled Poland with horror, and the hatred which Lippomani had already inspired was still more increased by it. He was

* *Raynaldus ad annum 1556*, vol. xii. page 605.

attacked in pamphlets, caricatures, &c., and even his life was in danger: he was therefore obliged to leave the country.

Amongst the many efforts which Lippomani made during his stay in Poland to restore the authority of his Church in that country, I must not omit his attempt to convert that very Prince Radziwill, palatine of Vilna, whose favour with the king the Pope so bitterly reproached to that monarch (page 221). Lippomani addressed to him a letter, in which he feigned a doubt of Radziwill's heresy, and represented to him that he would be the most perfect of all men if he were faithful to the true Church. Radziwill sent an answer to this epistle, composed by Vergerius, full of severe animadversions against Rome. This eminent individual deserves particular notice, as having been undoubtedly the greatest promoter of the cause of the Reformation in his country.

Nicholas Radziwill, sprung from an already wealthy and influential family of Lithuania, was a man of great natural abilities, which were developed by a careful education and extensive travel. King Sigismund Augustus having married his first cousin, Barbara Radziwill, he was brought into intimate contact with his sovereign, whose unlimited confidence he obtained. He was created chancellor of Lithuania and palatine of Vilna, employed on the most important affairs of the state, and his wealth increased by the grant of extensive demesnes. He several times visited, as ambassador, the courts of Charles the Fifth and Ferdinand the

First, where he earned the reputation of the most accomplished gentleman of his time; and he received from Charles the Fifth the dignity of a prince of the empire, not only for himself, but for all his family. Radziwill was converted to the doctrines of the Reformation chiefly by his intercourse with Bohemian Protestants at Prague; and he embraced the Confession of Geneva about 1553. From that period he devoted all his influence and wealth to promote the cause of his religion. That influence in Lithuania was immense, for he was intrusted by the monarch with almost the whole government of that country, where the royal authority was then much greater than in Poland. This, added to the popularity which he enjoyed on account of his personal qualities, gave him great facilities for carrying on in Lithuania, according to the expression of the reformers of that time, "the pious and glorious war against Rome." The clergy found themselves powerless against such a formidable antagonist, and a great number of them embraced the reformed confession. Almost the whole of the Roman Catholic nobles, including the first families of the land, and a great number of those who had belonged to the Eastern Church, became Protestants; so that in the diocese of Samogitia there were only eight Roman Catholic clergymen remaining. The reformed worship was established not only in the estates of the nobles, but also in many towns; and Radziwill built a splendid church and college for his confession at Vilna, the capital of Lithuania. He sup-

ported with great liberality many learned Protestants; and it was at his expense that the first Protestant Bible was translated, and printed at Brest, in Lithuania, in 1564,* besides many other works against Rome and in favour of the Reformation. The last years of his life were chiefly devoted to the promotion of the

* This Bible, beautifully printed in folio, is well known to book-collectors under the name of the Radziwillian Bible. The late Duke of Sussex had in his library a splendid copy of it, for which he paid £50. The son of Nicholas Radziwill having turned Roman Catholic, spent five thousand ducats in the purchase of copies of it, and caused them to be burnt in the market-place of Vilna, in order to amend, as much as it was in his power, the injury which his father had done to his Church by its publication. Radziwill dedicated this Bible to his sovereign, urging him, in the following strong expressions, to abjure Romanism:—"But if your Majesty (which may God avert!), continuing to be deluded by this world, unmindful of its vanity, and fearing still some hypocrisy, will persevere in that error which, according to the prophecy of Daniel, that impudent priest the idol of the Roman temple, the now manifest disturber of Christian peace, and sower of tares, has made abundantly grow in his infected vineyard, like a true and real Antichrist,—if your Majesty will follow to the end that blind chief of a generation of vipers, and lead us, the faithful people of God, the same way,—it is to be feared that the Lord may, for such a rejection of his truth, condemn us all, with your Majesty, to shame, humiliation, and destruction, and afterwards to an eternal perdition." This strong language, publicly addressed to the monarch by one who stood first in his favour and confidence, shows that Sigismund Augustus was then at least greatly inclined to the doctrines of the Reformation. The translation of Radziwill's Bible was accomplished by a society of foreign and Polish scholars; and I have already mentioned (page 219) that Laski took part in it. It is remarkable for the excellence of its style and the purity of its language.

cause of his religion ; and had his days been spared, it is very probable that he would have finally succeeded in persuading the monarch with whom he had such influence to embrace that religion ; but, unfortunately, he died in the prime and vigour of life, in 1565. His last thoughts were about the welfare of that cause which he had so zealously promoted during his life ; and on his death-bed he entreated his eldest son, Nicholas Christopher, to remain faithful to the confession in which his father was dying, and to be a patron to its churches and ministers. When that son was approaching for the first time the communion table, he addressed him in an eloquent speech, representing that he would inherit an immense fortune, a name rendered glorious by his ancestors, and a universal consideration in the country, acquired by his father ; but that all these worldly advantages were perishable, and therefore to be esteemed as dross ; and that the only real goods to be cared for were those things which united man to God by the sure hope of eternal salvation ; and he exhorted him in the strongest and most affectionate terms, to persevere in the true Christian religion, of which he was then going to make a solemn confession.

The death of Nicholas Radziwill was a severe loss to the Protestant cause in Lithuania, though he was in some measure replaced by his first cousin, and brother to the late Queen Barbara, Nicholas Radziwill, called Rufus, or the Red, in order to distinguish him from his

cousin and namesake, to whom the appellation of the Black, on account of the colour of his hair, was given. Radziwill Rufus was commander-in-chief of the Lithuanian forces, and distinguished for his military achievements. He was nominated, after the death of his cousin, Palatine of Vilna; and having been converted by him to the reformed religion, he zealously promoted its interests by the foundation of Protestant churches and schools, which he endowed with landed property for their permanent support. The children of Radziwill the Black all turned Romanists, and their line continues to the present day; but the descendants of Radziwill Rufus remained in the Protestant confession until the extinction of their line; and I shall have several opportunities of speaking of them.

I have related the indignation which the members of the diet of 1556 expressed when Lippomani dared to enter the hall of their deliberations. Had the king been a man of a resolute character and strong convictions, he would at once have established the spiritual independence of his country, by reforming its Church through the means of a national synod, particularly as a great number of the clergy were much inclined towards this measure, and only waited for its introduction by the supreme authority. Unfortunately Sigismund Augustus, although convinced of the necessity of the measure alluded to, was of too irresolute a character to adopt any decided measure. His intentions were the best,—he sincerely loved his

country; but his character was like that of many individuals who, placed at the helm of the state, always follow, or rather are carried away by, the current of public opinion prevalent at the time, but never take the lead themselves. Urged by the representations of the diet, he adopted a middle course, and addressed a letter to Pope Paul the Fourth, at the Council of Trent, demanding the concession of the five following points:—

1. The performance of the mass in the national language.
2. The communion in both kinds.
3. The marriage of priests.
4. The abolition of the annats.
5. The convocation of a national council for the reform of abuses and the union of different sects.

It is almost needless to add, that these demands were rejected by the Pope.*

The Protestant party, however, grew every day bolder; and at the diet of 1559 an attempt was made to deprive the bishops of their senatorial dignities, on account of their oath of fidelity to the Pope, which was in direct opposition to their duty to their country. Ossolinski, who made this motion, read publicly the formula of the above-mentioned oath, explaining

* He (the Pope) heard these demands (of the Polish king) with unspeakable impatience, and set himself to rebut them most bitterly, speaking against them with infinite vehemency. (*History of the Council of Trent*, by Pietro Soave Polano (Sarpi); translated by Sir Nathanael Brent. London, 1626, page 374.)

its dangerous tendency to the interests of the country; and concluded by saying, that if the bishops fulfilled the obligations to which they were bound by that oath, they were traitors, and not guardians, of the state. The motion was not carried, probably because a general reform of the Church was soon expected to take place; and the diet of 1563 passed a resolution that a general national synod, representing all the religious parties in Poland, should be convoked. This measure, although much favoured by the primate of Poland, Archbishop Uchanski, whose bias towards the doctrines of the Reformation was manifest, was, however, prevented by the celebrated papal diplomatist, Cardinal Commendoni, who had already displayed great talents in some important negotiations, but particularly during his mission to England in 1553, where he assisted Queen Mary, by his advice, in the restoration of Romanism.

Commendoni laboured particularly to excite apprehensions in the mind of the king that the convocation of a national synod, instead of restoring peace and union to the Polish Church, would only lead to political disorders, and the unfortunate differences which agitated the Protestant party gave great weight to the arguments of the cardinal.*

* The biographer of Commendoni gives the following account of this important affair, which, if it had not been for the skill of the papal diplomatist, would have upset the dominion of Rome in Poland for ever :—"The chiefs of the heretics, who were the first noblemen of the country, be-

I have said above, that the dissensions which divided the Protestants amongst themselves formed a great bar to the establishment of a re-

ing powerful in themselves, and having great influence at the court and amongst the nation, sought the more to strengthen their party, as they saw that Commendoni was acting strongly for the Roman Catholics. They directed all their efforts to convoke a national council, where they might determine their religious affairs according to the customs and interests of the state, and without the participation of the Pope [a most important confession of a zealous Romanist, that the interests of the state are contrary to those of the Pope.] They had at their disposal an archbishop (Uchanski), who, by his dignity, was equally influential in the senate and amongst the clergy, and whose hopes they flattered with their promises. Commendoni discovered the designs and intrigues of Uchanski and the heretics ; and, as he applied himself to destroy all their measures, he resolved to dissimulate all that he had heard about them, because he did not think proper to irritate, in that state of affairs, a man who was of great importance by his riches, his dignity, and his connection with the adverse party, and who would have openly declared for them, if he had thought that his designs were discovered. He was the more to be feared, as the king was very much inclined to assemble the clergy, according to the impressions which were made upon him, and which it was difficult to remove from his mind. Commendoni employed for that purpose all his diligence and dexterity, and frequently admonished the monarch that the public peace and his authority were in danger ; that all the claims he might concede to the heretics, and to the blind and seditious mob, would be followed by the loss of as many rights belonging to himself ; that if, with all the power of law, and all the ordinances and precedents, it was scarcely possible to restrain them, what dangers might not arise if an appearance of justice should be given to their bad intentions ? That two years ago the King of France, who was then still a child, was induced by the weakness of his mother, and by the insincere advice of his ministers, to show the same condescension, and assisted

formed Polish Church by a national synod : they also produced a very lamentable effect upon many influential individuals ; so that, disgusted by the violence with which the reformers, instead of uniting on the broad basis of the gospel, quarrelled amongst themselves about theological points of difference, they returned to the Roman Catholic Church, believing that, notwithstanding its manifest errors, it was a safer guide, on account of the unity of its doctrine, and the steadiness with which it was developed and applied to practical purposes, than the divergent and often conflicting opinions of the reformers, who, in the uncharitable violence of their polemics, refusing to others that liberty which they claimed for themselves, gave no proof of a converted spirit. The Roman Catholics did not fail to take advantage of these preposterous quarrels, pointing them out as a

himself at the colloquium of Poissy, as if he had been the arbiter of the differences and controversies of the Church ; that this assembly was the source of great divisions, and became a trumpet, which had excited the minds of the people to the revolt ; that this disputation contributed only to the increase of violence, and to the fury of the civil wars."

By this advice he dissuaded the king from assembling a national synod. This prince loved tranquillity, and feared nothing so much as disturbances and revolts in his states ; therefore, when the matter was brought forward in the senate, he interrupted the proposition, and protested that it was not for him to decide anything in ecclesiastical matters. Many bishops and senators defended, on that occasion, the cause of religion with great zeal. (*Vie de Commendoni, par Gratiani ; French translation, page 213, et seq.*)

sure token of a bad cause, and a punishment of heaven on the heretics ; and that the Almighty, in order to show that the heretics did not proclaim the Word of God, as they boasted of doing, but their own conceits, made them quarrel amongst themselves.

The Protestants of Poland were divided into three Confessions, viz. the Bohemian or Waldensian, which spread in Great Poland (page 188) ; the Genevese or Calvinistic, predominating in Lithuania and southern Poland, and to which the principal families of Poland belonged ; and the Lutheran, chiefly prevailing in towns inhabited by burghers of German origin, and professed by some great families, as the Gorkas, Zborowskis, &c. There was no difference between the Genevese and the Bohemian Confessions, except that the latter admitted the apostolic succession of its bishops, derived from the Valdensians of Italy, and often, on that account, called the Valdensian Church. These two Confessions had therefore no difficulty in concluding a union in 1555, at a town called Kozminek, by which the two Churches declared a spiritual communion between them, each of them retaining its separate hierarchy. This union caused great joy amongst the reformers of Europe, several of whom, as Calvin, Peter Martyr, &c., addressed congratulatory letters on that event to the Polish Protestants.

The united Churches endeavoured to extend their alliance to the Lutherans, which was a difficult task, considering the dogmatic difference about the Eucharist which exists between

the Confessions of Augsburg and Geneva. A synod of the Bohemian and Genevese Churches of Poland assembled in 1557, and, presided over by John Laski, invited the Lutherans to join this union; but this invitation remained without effect; and the Lutherans ceased not to accuse the Bohemian Church of heresy. The Bohemians were, however, unceasing in their efforts to accomplish a union amongst all the Protestants of Poland, and delegated two learned ministers to submit their Confession to the Protestant princes of Germany, as well as to the chief reformers of that country and of Switzerland. They succeeded in their object, and brought back an approbation of their confession of faith by the Duke of Wurtemberg and the Palatine of the Rhine, as well as by the most eminent reformers, namely, by Calvin, Beza, Viret, Peter Martyr, Bullinger, &c. Such high authorities silenced for a time the ill-will of the Lutherans, and they showed less disinclination to a union with the Genevese and Bohemian Confessions; but this commencement of a good understanding was soon disturbed by some emissaries from Germany, and the pretensions of some Polish Lutheran divines, who demanded that the other Protestant denominations should subscribe the Confession of Augsburg, and attacked that of the Bohemian Church as heretical. The Bohemians therefore sent, in 1568, a delegation to Wittemberg, in order to submit their Confession to the theological faculty of its university, and received from that learned body a full approba-

tion of the above-mentioned Confession. This produced a favourable effect upon the Lutherans, who after that time desisted from their attacks on the Bohemian Church.

The year 1569 was marked by one of the most important events in the history of my country,—the union of Poland and Lithuania, accomplished by the diet of Lublin.* The principal noblemen belonging to the three Protestant Confessions of Poland, who were assembled at that diet, resolved to promote by all means a union of their Churches, and to accomplish it in the following year, expecting that Sigismund Augustus, who had many times expressed a wish to see such a union effected, would at last decide on embracing Protestantism. They were no less anxious to put a stop to the scandal caused by the dissensions amongst the Protestants, which were very injurious to their cause. The town of Sandomir was chosen for the assembly of a synod destined to accomplish the great work of the union; and it assembled in April 1570. This synod was composed of several influential noblemen, as, for instance, the Palatines of Cracow, San-

* Lithuania and Poland were hitherto united only by a common sovereign, who was hereditary in the first and elective in the second of these countries. By the act of union, the king resigned his hereditary rights to Lithuania, and became elective monarch of both these countries, whose legislative bodies were united into one, although their administration, laws, and military establishments remained separate. This order of things lasted, with a few modifications, till the dissolution of Poland.

domir, &c., belonging to the different Protestant Confessions, and the leading ministers of those Confessions. After much debate, it was finally concluded and signed on the 14th April 1570.*

Had this union remained unimpaired, the triumph of the Protestant cause would probably have been soon accomplished in Poland. This was clearly perceived by the Romanists, who most virulently abused it in several publications, endeavouring to throw ridicule and contempt upon it. The danger, however, which soon began to threaten that union, and finally dissolved it, bringing about the ruin of the Protestant cause in Poland, arose not in that hostile quarter, but in the very camp of the Protestants. In fact, this covenant laboured under a great defect, and contained in some measure the seeds of its own dissolution, by having attempted a dogmatic union between Confessions whose tenets upon the Eucharist have such marked differences. It was therefore no wonder that the Lutherans, whose dogma of the *consubstantiation* is much nearer to that of the *transubstantiation* than to the doctrine held

* This union, well known in ecclesiastical history under the name of *Consensus Sandomiriensis*, has been frequently described. The best accounts of it are to be found in the *History of the Consensus Sandomiriensis*, by J. E. Jablonski, and that which is contained in the *History of the Bohemian Church in Poland*, by F. Lukaszewicz, in Polish. I have given the particulars of this transaction in the ninth chapter, first volume, of my *History of the Reformation in Poland*.

upon the communion by the Bohemian and Genevese Confessions, which reject altogether the real presence, frequently expressed their inclination rather to join the Church of Rome than the other Protestant Confessions. Many synods, composed of delegates from all the Protestant Confessions in Poland, tried in vain to prevent the disruption of the alliance established amongst them at Sandomir, by appeasing or coercing the attempts made by several Lutheran divines to bring about this disruption. The most violent attacks upon the union of Sandomir were made by the Lutheran minister of Posen, Gericius, whose self-love and vanity were greatly excited by the adroit flattery of the Jesuits, who called him the only true Lutheran of Poland; and by Enoch, another minister of the same Confession, who, unable to endure the severe discipline of the Bohemian Church, had gone over to the Lutherans. Their hostility, excited from abroad, became so violent, that they went so far as to maintain in their sermons that it was much better to become Romanists than to adhere to the union of Sandomir; that all those Lutherans who frequented Bohemian churches were forfeiting the salvation of their souls; and that it was much better to join the Jesuits than the Bohemians. This violence caused great scandal, and many Protestants whose minds were unsettled became so disgusted by these disgraceful proceedings, that they abandoned their congregations, and returned into the pale of the old Church. This was the case with many

noble families ; and their example was followed by thousands of common people. It would have been much more advisable, in concluding a covenant among the different Protestant confessions of Poland, to adopt for its basis a doctrine common to them all,—as, for instance, salvation by faith,—and leave untouched the dogmatical differences about the Eucharist, which are too marked to be reconciled ; and, instead of attempting to settle points of belief, which must be left to individual convictions, the Protestants of different denominations should have agreed about practical measures for insuring the liberty of all, and rendering innocuous the unrelenting hostility of their common enemy,—an object which could have been easily attained by organizing a common centre of action. This, unfortunately, was not done ; and it is one of the principal causes of the ruin of Protestantism in Poland.

The hostility of the Lutherans to the other Protestant Confessions was undoubtedly very injurious to the interests of all the Protestants ; but a much more dangerous enemy than the Lutheran *odium theologicum*, or even all the machinations of Rome, arose in the midst of the Genevese Church, which had become predominant in Lithuania, and in a great part of southern Poland,—I mean the anti-trinitarian doctrines, which, as I have said (page 187), began to be openly broached in Poland at the meeting of a secret society, about 1546. The works of Servetus had a considerable circulation in Poland ; Lælius Socinus, who visited

that country in 1551, had undoubtedly propagated the same opinions ; and Stancari, a learned Italian, Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cracow, contributed to the same end, by maintaining that the mediation of our Lord Jesus Christ was made only according to his human, and not to his Divine, nature. But the individual in Poland who first embodied the anti-trinitarian opinions into one positive doctrine was a certain Peter Gonesius or Goniondzki. Having studied in several foreign universities, he changed, in Switzerland, from a zealous Romanist to an anti-trinitarian. He returned to Poland apparently a proselyte to the Genevese Confession ; but at a synod of that Confession, in 1556, he rejected the usual mode of receiving the Trinity, and maintained the existence of three distinct Gods, but that the true Godhead belonged only to the Father. The synod, afraid of producing a secession, sent Gonesius with his Confession to Melancthon, who tried in vain to change his opinions. Gonesius gave a more complete development of his doctrine at the synod of Brest, in Lithuania, in 1558, when he read a treatise against the baptism of infants, and added the significant words, that there were other things which had crept from Popery into the Church. The synod imposed silence upon Gonesius, under penalty of excommunication ; but he refused obedience, and found a great number of adherents who embraced his opinions. The principal of these adherents was John Kiszka, commander-in-chief of the forces of Lithuania,

a nobleman possessed of immense wealth and great influence, who zealously promoted the establishment of churches maintaining the supremacy of the Father over the Son. But the doctrines of Gonesius, which resembled more those of Arius than the opinions of Servetus, only served as a transition to a complete denegation of the mystery of the Trinity, as well as the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ. Gonesius soon numbered amongst his adherents many individuals distinguished by their rank and learning, nobles as well as ministers. The divines who had embraced the anti-trinitarian doctrines were soon divided into different shades of opinion; but the spread of these doctrines was so rapid, that they menaced with great danger the Reformed Churches in the bosom of which they had originated. Their danger was increased by the death of their most eminent champion, John Laski, who was in himself a host in the defence of the Reformation against its internal and external enemies. Providence had left to them, however, some strenuous defenders, who opposed with unabated zeal and undaunted courage the evil which was advancing with an apparently irresistible force, and which had infected many of the most eminent ministers of the Reformed Church; but their efforts to prevent a division of their Church, which could not but be very prejudicial to the interests of the cause of the Reformation, remained unsuccessful. Notwithstanding all the attempts to preserve a union, the breach became complete in 1562; and in 1565 the anti-

trinitarian Church, or, as it was called by its members, the Minor Reformed Church of Poland, was entirely constituted. It had its synods, schools, and a complete ecclesiastical organization. The principal tenets of that Church, embodied in its Confession, published in 1574, were as follow:—"God made the Christ, *i. e.* the most perfect Prophet, the most sacred Priest, the invincible King, by whom He created the new world. This new world is the new birth, which Christ has preached, established, and performed. Christ amended the old order of things, and granted to his elect eternal life, that they might, after God the Most High, believe in Him. The Holy Spirit is not God, but a gift, the fulness of which the Father has granted to his Son." The same Confession prohibited the taking of oaths, or suing before tribunals for any injury whatever. Sinners were to be admonished; but neither penalties nor any other kind of persecution were ever to be inflicted. The Church reserved to itself only the right to exclude refractory members. Baptism was to be administered to adults, and considered as the sign of purification, which changes the old Adam into a heavenly one. The Eucharist was to be understood in the same manner as by the Church of Geneva. Notwithstanding the publication of this catechism, great differences of doctrine continued to prevail amongst the anti-trinitarians, who agreed only in one point, *i. e.* the superiority of the Father over the Son; but whilst some of them maintained the dogma of

Arius, others went so far as to deny the Divinity of Christ. These doctrines received a definite form from the celebrated Faustus Socinus, whose name has been unjustly given to a sect of which he was by no means the founder. He arrived in Poland in 1579, and settled at Cracow, whence, after a sojourn of four years, he transferred his residence to a village called Pavlikovice, situated in its vicinity, and belonging to Christopher Morsztyn, whose daughter Elizabeth he soon afterwards married. This marriage, by which he became connected with the first families in Poland, greatly contributed to the spread of his opinions amongst the higher classes of that country, and paved the way for that extraordinary influence which, after having been for some time repulsed by the anti-trinitarian congregations who differed from his views, he acquired over all of them. He was invited to assist at their principal synods, and took a leading part in them. Thus, at the synod of Wengrow, in 1584, he successfully maintained the doctrine of the worship of Jesus Christ, and that its rejection would lead to Judaism, and even atheism. At the same synod, and at that of Chmielnik, he powerfully contributed to the rejection of the millennarian opinions taught by several anti-trinitarians. His influence was completely established at the synod of Brest, in Lithuania, in 1588, when he removed all the differences which divided the anti-trinitarians of Poland, and gave unity to their Churches by moulding their hitherto undefined and discordant dogmas into one complete religious system.

Socinus was several times exposed to the persecution of Romanists, but without receiving any serious injury. At last the publication of his work *De Jesu Christo Servatore*, at Cracow, raised a violent hatred against him; and during his residence in that city, a rabble, headed by the students of the university, invaded his house, dragged him thence, treated him with the greatest indignity, and would certainly have murdered him, had he not been rescued by the professors of the university, Wadowita and Goslicki, and the rector himself, Lelovita, all Roman Catholic clergymen. These noble-minded men succeeded in saving their most dangerous polemical antagonist, by deceiving the mob, and exposing themselves to personal danger. Socinus on that occasion lost his library, which was destroyed by the mob, together with his manuscripts, amongst which he particularly regretted a treatise which he had composed against the atheists. After that disgraceful event, he transferred his residence to Luklavage, a village situated at the distance of nine Polish miles (forty-two English) from Cracow, where an anti-trinitarian church had existed for some time. He settled in the house of Adam Blonski, the owner of that place, and remained there till his death, in 1607. When he lost his wife, to whom he was passionately attached, the fortitude and resignation with which he had formerly supported adversity seemed to abandon him, so that for many months he was unable to resume his occupations. He left one daughter, named Agnes, who married Wysz-

waty, a Lithuanian noble, and became mother of a celebrated author of that name. About the same time, he lost a considerable income, which he had regularly derived from his estates in Tuscany, and which he spent with great liberality; these estates having been confiscated on the death of his friend and benefactor Francesco de Medici, the reigning Duke of Tuscany. He was therefore obliged to accept the bounty of his friends; but he bore this severe trial, as well as many physical sufferings, with patience and meekness, and seems to have possessed a most amiable disposition. His polemical writings are free from the virulence which at that time disgraced the controversial works of Romanists as well as Protestants. His learning and talents were certainly of the first order; and there can be no doubt of the sincerity of his piety and the purity of his intentions; and this gives cause to lament the more that such virtues and talents should have been employed, with such deplorable success, to promote doctrines not only erroneous in themselves, but leading to consequences which neither Socinus nor any other of the sincere promoters of them had anticipated.

Already, during Socinus's lifetime, some more daring followers of his sect began to deny revelation altogether, as, for instance, Budny, whose translation of the Old Testament is considered to be one of the most correct that ever has been made, but whose commentaries on these Scriptures, as well as on the New Testament, caused him to be deposed from the mi-

nistry as an infidel. The Rationalist opinions, as they are now called in Germany, promoted by the anti-trinitarians, are not congenial to the Slavonic mind, and would not have produced any important consequences in that country had they been broached at least half a century later; because the Reformation being once established, and the excitement of such a revolution having abated, the anti-trinitarian speculations would have obtained only a small number of adherents amongst scholars and divines, without exercising any influence on the bulk of the population, for which the speculative nature of their doctrines is entirely unfitted. But coming, as they did, in the midst of the religious contest between Rome and Protestantism, they did immense harm to the cause of the latter. At a time when the triumph of that cause could be accomplished only by the closest union of its adherents, and an unremitting zeal and perseverance in the pursuit of that object, the anti-trinitarians struck a mortal blow at it, by sowing doubt and uncertainty amongst its defenders, and thereby destroying the main spring of that energetic and persevering action by which alone a cause is rendered triumphant, *i.e.* an unshaken belief in its justice and truth. The boldness of these doctrines, which removed, or at least unsettled, the landmarks between the exercise of human reason and faith in the revealed truths of the gospel, struck terror into many timorous consciences, and made them seek refuge in the absolute

authority of the Roman Church, which took advantage of these circumstances, in order to support its doctrines concerning the Scriptures. Indeed, Archbishop Tillotson justly observes, that although the Socinian writers have combated with great success the innovations of the Roman Church, they have at the same time furnished that very Church with strong arguments against the Reformation. It was the same effect which Rationalism produced during this century on some master minds of Germany, as Stolberg, Werner, Frederic Schlegel, &c. The doubt and uncertainty created by the above-mentioned doctrines produced amongst many Protestants indifference to the doctrines which separate the Reformed Churches from Rome; and this circumstance may be regarded as one of the principal causes which undermined Protestantism in Poland; because it could not be expected that persons impressed with such a feeling would sacrifice their worldly interest for the sake of their religious principles, and much less that they would endure persecution on that score. This circumstance, I think, may account in a great measure for the lamentable success with which, as I shall show in my next lecture, Sigismund the Third withdrew so many families from Protestantism, by reserving to Romanists offices and riches, and exposing their antagonists to different kinds of persecution.

The rules of morality prescribed by the anti-trinitarians were exceedingly strict, for they endeavoured literally to observe many precepts of

the gospel, without any regard to circumstances which might render their application, if generally adopted, productive of more harm than good. The doctrines which Socinus himself maintained concerning political powers, and which he developed in his letter to Palæologus, were those of passive obedience and unconditional submission to them; and he strongly condemned the insurrection of Holland against the Spanish oppression, as well as the resistance offered by the French Protestants to their persecutors. Bayle justly observes, that Socinus speaks on that occasion rather as a monk whose pen had been hired for the purpose of vilifying and making odious the Protestant Reformation, than as a refugee from Italy. This doctrine, however, was not unconditionally accepted by the Socinians of Poland; and their synods of 1596 and 1598 allowed them to take advantage of all the privileges enjoyed by the Polish nobles, such as possession of dignities and offices, and making use of arms, but only when compelled to do so in self-defence. This liberty displeased the inferior class of the Socinians; and by their influence a resolution passed the synod of 1605, declaring that Christians ought rather to abandon the countries exposed to the predatory forays of the Tahtars, than to kill their invaders in defending the country. This preposterous doctrine, destructive of the safety of a state particularly exposed, as Poland was, to constant aggressions,—repugnant to the national character,—and, moreover, contradicted by the example of primitive Christians, who va-

liantly fought in the Roman legions,—could not be strictly observed by the Polish Socinians, many of whom distinguished themselves in the career of arms.

Socinus did not himself compose a catechism of the sect to which he gave his name. It was composed by Smalcus, a learned German Socinian, who had settled in Poland, and by Moskorzewski, a learned and wealthy nobleman. It is a development of that of 1574 (page 243), and is well known to students of divinity under the name of the Racovian Catechism, on account of its being published at Racow, a little town in southern Poland, which contained a Socinian school, celebrated over all Europe. It was published in Polish and Latin; and an English translation of it appeared in 1652 at Amsterdam. In the same year the English Parliament, by a vote given on the 2d of April, declared that “the book entitled *Catechesis Ecclesiarum in Regno Poloniae, &c.*, commonly called ‘the Racovian Catechism,’ doth contain matters that are blasphemous, erroneous, and scandalous;” and ordered, in consequence, “the sheriffs of London and Middlesex to seize all copies, wherever they might be found, and cause them to be burnt at the Old Exchange, London, and at the New Palace, Westminster.” Mr Abraham Rees in 1819 published a new English translation of this catechism, accompanied by an historical notice.

The Socinian congregations, chiefly composed of nobles, amongst whom there were many wealthy landowners, were never numerous.

They had, however, several schools, frequented by pupils of different confessions, and of which Racow was the most celebrated. They produced many eminent scholars and authors, particularly on theological subjects. A collection of their divines, known under the name of the *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum*, occupies a high place amongst theological works, and is studied by Protestants of all denominations.

At the time of the conclusion of the Consensus of Sandomir, *i. e.* in 1570, the Protestant cause had reached the acmé of its prosperity. It is impossible to know the precise number of the churches which the Protestants had at that time. The Jesuit Skarga, who lived in the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, maintains that about two thousand churches had been taken from the Roman Catholics by Protestants of various denominations. There is no doubt that the principal families of Poland had embraced Protestantism, although many abandoned it, soon disgusted by the dissensions of the Protestants, and frightened by the anti-trinitarian speculations.* They had

* The following families, whose members occupied the first dignities of the state, embraced Protestantism during the sixteenth century:—Radziwill, Zamoyski, Potocki, Leszczynski, Sapieha, Ostrog, Olesnicki, Sieninski, Szafraniec, Tenczynski, Ossolinski, Jordan, Zborowski, Gorka, Mielecki, Laski, Chodkiewicz, Melsztynski, Dembinski, Bonar, Boratynski, Firley, Tarlo, Lubomirski, Dzialynski, Sieniawski, Zarembo, Malachowski, Bninski, Wielopolski, &c. &c. &c.

established several schools, and a great number of printing-offices, whence issued not only polemical, but also literary and scientific works. The excitement created by the Reformation in the minds of the nation gave a strong impulse to an intellectual movement, which produced the most beneficial results to the country. The great and most effective weapon with which the Protestants in Poland, as elsewhere, attacked the Established Church, was the translation of the Scriptures into the national language, supported by polemical works in the same idiom. The Roman Catholics defended their Church with similar arms ; and this controversial struggle compelled both parties engaged in it to apply themselves to severe studies. The knowledge of Greek and Hebrew was added to that of Latin, which was already general. This had a most favourable influence upon the national literature, which rose with an extraordinary rapidity, and produced a great number of works on different literary and scientific subjects, in the national language, as well as in Latin. The versions of the Bible made by Protestants as well as Roman Catholics are patterns of a pure language and correct style, and are studied, as well as the other productions of the sixteenth century,—the Augustan era of the Polish literature,—as models for imitation by the Polish writers of the present day. The works relating to jurisprudence and politics published during that period show a decided tendency towards the amendment of the defective constitution of the country, which was reducing too much the

executive power vested in the king; and the reform of many abuses, which was accomplished at the diet of 1564, was already an important step towards that end. Yet although the Polish constitution had many defects, these were greatly outweighed by the advantages of a liberty which had not yet degenerated into licentiousness. Religious freedom was at that time enjoyed in Poland to a degree unknown in any other part of Europe, where generally the Protestants were persecuted by the Romanists, or the Romanists by the Protestants. This freedom, united to commercial advantages, and a wide field for the exercise of various talents, attracted to Poland crowds of foreigners, who fled their native land on account of religious persecution, and many of whom became, by their industry and talents, very useful citizens of their adopted country. There were at Cracow, Vilna, Posen, &c., Italian and French Protestant congregations. A great number of Scotch settled in different parts of Poland; and there were Scotch Protestant congregations not only in the above-mentioned towns, but also in other places, and a particularly numerous one at Kieydany, a little town of Lithuania, belonging to the Princes Radziwill. Amongst the Scotch families settled in Poland, the principal were the Bonars, who arrived in that country before the Reformation, but became its most zealous adherents. This family rose, by its wealth, and the great merit of several of its members, to the highest dignities of the state, but became extinct dur-

ing the seventeenth century. There are even now in Poland many families of Scotch descent belonging to the class of nobles, as, for instance, the Haliburtons, Wilsons, Ferguses, Stuarts, Haslers, Watsons, &c. Two Protestant clergymen of Scotch origin, Forsyth and Inglis, have composed some sacred poetry. But the most conspicuous of all the Polish Scotsmen is undoubtedly Dr John Johnstone, perhaps the most remarkable writer of the seventeenth century on natural history.* Not-

* I think that, writing as I do these sketches in the capital of Scotland, it will not be out of place to give a few details about this remarkable Scoto-Pole. John Johnstone was born in 1603, at Szamatuly or Sambter, a little town in the province of Great Poland. His father, Simon Johnstone, was a Protestant minister, descended from the Johnstones of Craighourne, in Scotland. John studied in different schools of his native land, and went in 1622 to England, and then to Scotland, where he continued to study till 1625, when he returned to his native town. The same year he undertook to superintend the education of two sons of Count Kurzbach, and remained with them at Lissa, a celebrated Protestant school, situated in his province, till 1628, when he went to Germany; and after having resided at several of its universities, he arrived in 1629 at Franeker, in Holland, where he continued for a year studying medicine. He prosecuted the same studies at Leyden, London, and Cambridge. Having returned to Poland, he left it again as tutor to two young noblemen, Boguslav Leszczynski and Vladislav Dorohostayski, with whom he revisited Leyden and Cambridge, where he received the diploma of a doctor of medicine; after which he continued to travel with his pupils through other parts of Europe, and returned to Poland towards the end of 1636. The next year he married; but having soon lost his wife, he married again in 1638, and by that marriage had several children. In 1642 the Universities of Frank-

withstanding the injuries which the Protestant cause in Poland had received from its internal dissensions, its situation was more

fort-on-the-Oder and of Leyden offered him chairs of medicine ; but he declined these offers, preferring to reside in his own country, where he lived at Lissa as physician to his former pupil Boguslav Leszczynski. The wars which desolated Poland in 1665–60 compelled him to leave it ; and he retired to an estate which he had purchased near Liegnitz, in Silesia, where he remained till his death in 1675. His body was transported to Lissa, and buried there. His principal works are,—*Thaumatografia Naturalis, in x. classes divisa* : Amsterdam, 1632, 1633, 1661, and 1666. *Historia Universalis, Civilis et Ecclesiastica, ab Orbe condito ad 1633* : Leyden, 1633 and 1638 ; Amsterdam, 1644 ; Frankfort, 1672, continued till that year. *De Naturæ Constantia, &c.* : Amsterdam, 1632 ; translated into English, under the title, “*The History of the Constancy of Nature, wherein, comparing the latter ages with the former, it is maintained that the World does not universally decay,*” &c. : London, 1657. *Systema Dendrologicum* : Lissa, 1646. *Historia Naturalis de Piscibus et Cetis* : Frankfort, 1646. *De Quadrupedibus, Avibus, Piscibus, Insectis, et Serpentibus* : Frankfort, 1650, two vols. This edition is much valued, on account of the plates, executed by the celebrated Merian. *Idea Medicinæ Universæ Practicæ* : Amsterdam, 1652, 1664 ; Leyden, 1655. *Historia Naturalis de Insectis* : Frankfort, 1653. *Historia Natur. Animal. cum figuris* : 1657 ; translated into English, under the title, “*A Description of the Four-footed Beasts,*” illustrated by copper plates : Amsterdam, 1678. *Notitia Regni Vegetalis* : Lipsiæ, 1662. *Dendrographia, seu Hist. Naturalis de Arboribus et Fructibus*. *Syntagma Medicinæ* : Jenæ, 1674. *Idea Hygieynis Recensita* : Jenæ, 1672. *Notitia Regni Mineralis* : Lipsiæ, 1661. *De Festis Hebræorum et Græcorum* : Breslau, 1660. *Polyhistor. seu Rerum ab Ortu Universi ad nostra usque Tempora, per Asiam, Europam, Africam, et Americam, in sacris et profanis gestarum succincta et methodica Enarratio* : Jenæ. And a continuation of the same work, *ibid.* ; vide *Niceron Memoires*, xl. xli., and *Nouveau Supplement a Moreri*, vol. ii.

favourable than that of its antagonists. The majority of the influential nobles were on its side, whilst many powerful families, and the bulk of the population of the eastern provinces, belonged to the Greek Church, and were as much opposed to Rome as the Protestants. I have already mentioned (page 232), that the Primate of Poland was strongly inclined towards the doctrines of the Reformation; and this was the case with many prelates and inferior clergymen of that Church, who were ready to co-operate in the establishment of a reformed national Church, but had a great aversion, as well as many laymen, to join any of the Protestant sects, whose unfortunate dissensions were often more calculated to unsettle than to edify the minds of men. The great majority of the lay members of the Polish senate were either Protestants or followers of the Greek Church; and the king gave a decided proof of his approbation of Protestantism, by nominating a lay senator, the Roman Catholic bishop Pac, who had become a Protestant. The Roman Catholic Church in Poland was on the brink of ruin; and was only saved by the efforts of one of those powerful characters who occasionally appear in history, accelerating or arresting for centuries the march of events. This character was Hosius, not inaptly called the Great Cardinal.

The number of works enumerated here, and which were much esteemed in their time, shows the extraordinary merit of the Scoto-Polish writer, who was not surpassed, if even equalled, in Europe by any of his contemporaries.

Stanislaus Hosen (Latinized Hosius) was born at Cracow in 1504, of a family of German descent, which had acquired considerable wealth by trade. He was educated in his own country, but completed his studies at Padua, where he contracted an intimate friendship with the celebrated English prelate, Reginald de la Pole (Cardinal Pole). From Padua he went to Bologna, where he took the degree of doctor of laws, under Buoncompagni, afterwards Pope Gregory the Thirteenth. Having returned to Poland, he was recommended by the Bishop of Cracow, Tomicki, to Bona Sforza, queen of Sigismund the First, who took him under her patronage, and insured his rapid preferment. The king entrusted him with the affairs of Polish Prussia, and nominated him canon of Cracow. He early made himself conspicuous by his animosity against the Protestants. However, at first he did not attack them himself, but only instigated other preachers to declaim from the pulpit against their religious innovations,—imitating, as his biographer (Rescius) says, “the prudence of the serpent.” He was created Bishop of Culm, and entrusted with important embassies to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and to his brother Ferdinand, the duties of which he discharged in a most creditable manner. Being nominated Bishop of Ermeland, by which he became the chief of the Church of Polish Prussia, and acquired a great influence in that province, he strove in vain to oppose the progress of Lutheranism, which, in spite of all his efforts, rapidly

spread over that province, and became the persuasion of the majority of its inhabitants. No Roman Catholic prelate had ever combated the progress of the Reformation with more zeal than Hosius; and he displayed in this struggle activity and talents equal to his zeal. He dictated at the same time to several amanuenses; during his meals he often transacted most important business, read and answered letters which he continually received from different parts, or listened to the reading of some new work. He was thoroughly acquainted with the political and religious history of all Europe, and was well informed about the doings and movements of every principal reformer of his time, and was always ready to counteract his exertions. In order to oppose the progress of the Reformation, he continually addressed the king, the principal noblemen, and the clergy; he assisted at the diets and at many provincial meetings, convoked synods, chapters, &c. This extraordinary activity did not prevent him from composing many works which have earned for him the reputation of being one of the greatest writers of his Church, and which have been translated into the principal languages of Europe.* He wrote with equal facility in

* The principal works of Hosius are, *Confessio Catholica Fidei Christianæ, vel potius Explicatio Confessionis a Patribus facta in Synodo Provinciali quæ habita est Petricoviæ, ann. 1551: Moguntiæ, 1551.* Rescius, his biographer, says that it was published during the author's life, in different languages, thirty-two times. *De Expresso Verbo Dei*; in English, *Of the Expresse Wordes of God*; a short but most ex-

Latin, Polish, and German, adapting his style to the disposition of his readers in a most skilful manner. Thus his Latin works show the deep, erudite, and subtle theologian; whilst in his German productions he successfully imitates the sturdiness of Luther's style, condescending to broad humour, and coarse but striking expressions; and in his Polish compositions he assumes a light, and even playful manner, adapted to the character and taste of his countrymen. He made a particular study of the polemical works written by authors belonging to one Protestant confession against the followers of another; and he skilfully took advantage of the arguments by which some of those writers were infatuated enough to recommend the application of penal laws against those who erred in religious matters. He did not scruple repeatedly to advise that faith should not be kept with heretics, and that it was necessary to confute them, not by argument, but by the authority of the magistrates.

cellente treatyse, and very necessary for this tyme. Newly translated into English, Lovan, by John Bogard, 1567. *Propugnatio Christianæ Catholicæque Doctrinæ*: Antwerp, 1559. *Confutatio Prolegomenon Brentii*; in English, A most Excellent Treatyse of the Beginning of the Heresies in our Tyme. Translated out of Latin into English, by Richard Shadlock: Antwerp, 1565. *De Communione sub utraque Specie. De Sacerdotum Conjugio. De Missa Vulgari Lingua Celebranda, &c.* The best edition of his works is considered that of Cologne in 1584, which contains also his letters written to many eminent persons of his time. His Life, written by Rescius (Reszka), was published at Rome in 1587.

He himself made a full confession of his principles on that subject, in a letter which he addressed to the notorious Cardinal of Lorraine (Guise), congratulating him on the murder of Coligny, the news of which, as he himself said, filled his soul with an incredible joy and comfort; and he at the same time thanked the Almighty for the great boon conferred on France by the massacre of St Bartholomew, imploring Him to show equal mercy to Poland.*

Yet this prelate, who entertained such abominable sentiments, was in every other respect adorned with the noblest qualities that honour mankind; and although the eulogy paid to him by the sceptic Protestant Bayle, who calls him the greatest man that Poland had ever produced, is much exaggerated, there is but one opinion, not only regarding his splendid talents, but also his eminent virtues and piety. His faults, therefore, were not his own, but the unavoidable consequences of the precepts of his Church, which he zealously but conscientiously followed. His fervour for that Church was such, that he declared, in one of his polemical works, that the Scriptures, if it were not for the authority of the same Church, would have no more weight than the fables of Æsop.† He was nominated Cardinal by Pope Pius the Fourth, in 1561, and appointed President of the Council of Trent, of which commission he

* *Vide*, in Hosius' works, *Epistola Carolo Cardinali Lotharingo*, &c.; *Sublacio*, 4to Septembris 1572.

† *Vide* Bayle, art. Hosius.

acquitted himself to the entire satisfaction of the Pope. Having been appointed grand penitentiary of the Church, he spent the last years of his life at Rome, where he died in 1579, in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

Hosius was a no less consistent Romanist in politics than he was in religion. He maintained that subjects had no rights whatever, but that they owed a blind submission to the sovereign, who was responsible to none for his acts; and that it was a sin to judge him. Like many other Romanist writers, he ascribed the political innovations to the doctrines of the Reformation; and expressly stated that it was the reading of the Scriptures which rendered people seditious; and he particularly inveighed against those women who read the Bible.

The deep learning which made Hosius universally regarded as one of the first luminaries of the Roman Church, could not, however, free his mind from the unchristian notion inculcated by the same Church, that voluntary self-torment is acceptable to the Father of all mercy; and, being a rigid observer of those practices, which are more in accordance with pagan rites than with the mild precepts of Christianity, but which that Church recommends, he frequently lacerated his own body by severe flagellations, spilling his own blood with the same fervour as he would have spilled that of the opponents of the Pope.

Such was the celebrated individual who, seeing that all his efforts to combat the progress of the Reformation in Poland were fruitless,

adopted a measure for which he deserved the eternal gratitude of Rome, and the curses of his own country. He called to his assistance the newly-established order of the Jesuits, which, by its admirable organization, zeal, and activity, but chiefly, perhaps, by that reckless disregard of every principle which stood betwixt it and the object at which it aimed, succeeded in saving Romanism from impending ruin over all Europe, and even in restoring its sway in many places where it had already been annihilated.

As early as 1558, the order despatched one of its members, named Canisius, to Poland, for the purpose of examining into the state of the country. Canisius reported that it was deeply infected with heresy, ascribing that state of things chiefly to the aversion of the king to repress Protestantism by sanguinary measures. He had many conferences with the heads of the Roman clergy in Poland about the establishment of the Jesuits in that country; but he returned without having obtained any positive result of his mission. In 1564, Hosius, on his return from Trent, perceiving the increase of Protestantism in his diocese, addressed himself to the celebrated general of the Jesuits, Lainez, and requested him to send him some members of his order. Lainez immediately despatched several Jesuits from Rome, at the same time ordering a few others from Germany to join them. Hosius located his welcome guests at Braunsberg, a little town in his diocese, and richly endowed the nascent estab-

lishment which was soon to spread over all Poland. An attempt was made in 1561 to introduce the Jesuits into Elbing; but the Protestant inhabitants of that town manifested such a violent opposition to the admission of an order which had come with the avowed determination of extirpating heresy, that Hosius, while deploring the infatuation of Elbing, which, as he maintained, was rejecting its own salvation, was obliged to desist from his project. At first they did not make any rapid progress; and it was only six years after their arrival in Poland that the Bishop of Posen, induced by the papal legate, established them in that town; and having persuaded the authorities of the city to give them one of the principal churches, with two hospitals and a school, he endowed them with an estate, and made them a present of his library. They insinuated themselves into the favour of the Princess Anna, sister of King Sigismund Augustus, who promoted their interest with all her influence. The primate Uchanski, who was, as I have said (p. 232), strongly inclined towards the doctrines of the Reformation, endeavoured, when the prospects of their speedy establishment in Poland were destroyed by the demise of Sigismund Augustus, to obliterate the suspicions of Rome by the display of great zeal for its interests; and he became a great patron of the new order. His example was followed by many bishops, who relied for the defence of their dioceses more on the intrigues of their new allies than on the efforts of the

local clergy. In my next lecture I shall describe the rapid increase of the number and influence of the Jesuits, when it will be my melancholy task to draw a picture of the unceasing intrigues and agitation by which that order succeeded in crushing the anti-Romanist party in Poland, sacrificing the national prosperity and the most vital interests of the country to the restoration of the papal dominion.

LECTURE FOURTH.

POLAND : EASTERN CHURCH.

SIGISMUND AUGUSTUS, whose manifest inclination towards the doctrines of the Reformation inspired the Protestants with an apparently well-founded hope that, notwithstanding his wavering character, he would finally decide upon the establishment of a national Reformed Church, died in 1572, without issue; and the Jaghellonian dynasty, which had reigned in Poland for two centuries (1386–1572), became extinct by his death. This circumstance placed Poland in a trying position, because the election of a monarch, which had existed only in theory so long as the Jaghellonian dynasty continued without interruption, was now fairly to be put to the test by its extinction. The religious parties which then divided Poland increased the difficulties attending the election of a monarch, as the Protestants were anxious to bestow the crown of their country on a candidate of their own persuasion, whilst, on the other hand, the Roman Catholics were strenuously labouring to insure the throne to a zeal-

ous supporter of their Church. This last party began its intrigues even before the death of Sigismund Augustus, and it found an able leader in the celebrated papal diplomatist, Cardinal Commendoni, whose first visit to Poland I have mentioned in page 232, and who had again arrived in that country, in order to embroil it in a war with the Turks. Commendoni's project was to establish on the Polish throne the Archduke Ernest, son of the Emperor Maximilian the Second; and for that purpose he induced several Roman Catholic noblemen to adopt the following plan:—The Archduke was to be previously elected Grand Duke of Lithuania, after which he was to levy an army of twenty-four thousand men, in order, if necessary, to compel the senate of Poland to imitate the example of Lithuania.

Having united the Romanist party, Commendoni sought to divide and weaken that of the Protestants, whose leader was John Firley, palatine of Cracow and grand marshal of Poland.* He was the head of the followers of the Genevese Confession, and, as grand marshal, the first officer of the state. His high station, and the popularity which he enjoyed, rendered him exceedingly influential, so that he was supposed by many to aim at the crown of his country, and not without a great chance of success. Personal enmity, and, perhaps even more, the fear of seeing the ultimate triumph of the

* The grand marshal was invested with the supreme direction of the executive power.

Genevese or Reformed Church in Poland by the election of Firley, induced the powerful family of Zborowski, who professed Lutheranism, to oppose him; and the same religious jealousy caused the Gorkas, another influential Lutheran family, to join the Zborowskis against Firley. Commendoni took advantage of this unfortunate division amongst the Protestants, and increased it by means of Andreas Zborowski, one of the family who had remained a Romanist, and who was entirely devoted to the Cardinal, whose intrigues in exciting the jealousy of the Zborowskis against Firley were so successful, that this powerful family abandoned the Protestant interest, and declared for a Roman Catholic candidate to the throne. Commendoni informed the emperor of the success of his intrigues, requesting him to send money, and secretly to advance his troops towards the Polish frontier. He represented that by these means, and with the assistance of the zealous Romanists, the Archduke might be put in possession of the Polish throne, without subscribing to any conditions restricting his authority, and in spite of all the efforts of the Protestants.* This infamous plot of Commendoni against the political and religious liberty of Poland, which would have involved that country in the horrors of a domestic war,

* The details of this plot have been described by Commendoni's secretary and biographer, who had himself taken part in it. (*Vide Vie de Commendoni, par Gratiani, livre iv. c. iii.*)

without securing its throne to the Archduke, was frustrated by the prudence and moderation of the emperor himself, who, although desiring to place his son on the throne of Poland, clearly saw the impossibility of attaining that object by violence and treason, and therefore preferred to seek it by means of negotiation.

The momentary influence which Coligny and the Protestant party enjoyed at the court of France, after the pacification of St Germain in 1570, produced a decisive effect upon its foreign relations, and particularly on those with Poland. Coligny and the Protestants meditated a great scheme of political and religious combination, the object of which was to humble Romanism, and its chief support, Spain. His intention was to unite the divided Protestants into one centre, in order to give a uniform tendency and action to their cause, which would have insured its triumph through all Europe. Coligny saw the importance of Poland in such a combination, and thought that, the Protestant cause having once prevailed in France and Poland, these two countries, united by a political and religious alliance, would speedily overturn the dominion of Rome and of the house of Austria. Coligny, therefore, advised the French court to make every possible effort in order to place Henry of Valois, duke of Anjou, on the Polish throne; and Catherine de Medicis eagerly seized on that project for the aggrandisement of her son. This plan was conceived during the lifetime of Sigismund Augustus; and an ambassador called Balagny was sent to

Poland, under the pretence of demanding the hand of the Princess Anna, sister of Sigismund Augustus, for the Duke of Anjou, but, in fact, to collect information about the real state of the country, and the principal parties prevailing there.

Several provincial assemblies, and a general one of the states of Poland, adopted effective measures for maintaining the peace of the country during the interregnum. The affairs of the state were conducted during that time by the great marshal, in the name of the primate and the senate. The diet of convocation* was assembled at Warsaw in January 1573. The Roman Catholic clergy thought no longer of crushing the anti-Romanists, but only of preserving their own position. Karnkowski, bishop of Cujavia, therefore proposed to pass a law which, by establishing a perfect equality of rights to all the Christian Confessions of Poland, should guarantee the dignities and privileges of the Roman Catholic bishops, abolishing, however, the obligation of church patrons to bestow the benefices in their gift exclusively on Roman Catholic clergymen. This project was readily accepted by the diet ; but the instiga-

* The diet of convocation was that which assembled after the demise of the monarch, in order to fix the time and place of the election, to convoke the elective assembly, and to adopt the necessary measures for the maintenance of the peace and safety of the country. It was always *confederated*, i. e. the senate voted along with the chamber of nuncios, and affairs were decided by the majority, and not by the unanimity, of the votes.

tions of Commendoni produced a complete change in the opinion of the bishops, who now protested against that very measure which had originated with one of their own body, and refused to sign it, with the exception of Francis Krasinski, bishop of Cracow and vice-chancellor of Poland, who, preferring the interests of his own country to those of Rome, signed the act in question, which was accepted by the diet on the 6th January 1573. He was bitterly censured by Rome for his patriotism; and Commendoni considered him as of suspicious orthodoxy, and entirely devoted to Firley. The same diet fixed the election of the monarch for the 7th April, at Kamien, in the vicinity of Warsaw.

Several candidates were presented for the vacant throne; but there were only two real competitors,—the Archduke Ernest of Austria, and Henry of Valois, duke of Anjou. The archduke's party, conducted by Commendoni, was very strong at the beginning, but it soon lost ground by many errors which the emperor's agents committed, but particularly by the jealousy excited against the house of Hapsburg by pointing out the injuries which its dominion had inflicted upon the liberties of Bohemia. This jealousy grew so strong, that Commendoni, considering the archduke's case hopeless, transferred his influence to the party of the French prince.

The policy of France was conducted on that occasion with very great skill. As the great object of placing a French prince on the throne

of Poland was to crush the overgrown power of Austria and Spain, by raising the Protestant cause in Europe, the French court sent an agent called Schomberg to Germany, before the death of Sigismund Augustus, in order to induce the Protestant princes of that country to conclude an alliance with France, as well as to support its views in Poland. As soon as the death of Sigismund Augustus was known, Montluc, bishop of Valence, was sent as ambassador to Poland, furnished with ample instructions by Coligny ; but he had not crossed the frontiers of France when the massacre of St Bartholemew was perpetrated. It is well known that Coligny was one of the victims of that abominable act ; and Montluc, on receiving the news of it, saw at once its injurious effect on the French interests abroad, and suspended his journey. Catherine de Medicis perceived, however, the necessity of following the same line of foreign policy which had been adopted previously to that execrable act, and Montluc received orders to continue his journey, whilst his instructions, framed by Coligny, remained unaltered, which is the most splendid evidence of the talents and patriotic views of that great man.

Montluc arrived in Poland in November 1572, and found there the state of parties entirely changed. The Romanists, despairing of the archduke's success, had, since the massacre of St Bartholomew, become zealous partizans of the Duke of Anjou, whom they considered as the exterminator of heresy ; whilst the Protes-

tants, indignant at the murder of their brethren in France, abandoned the interest of that country, the policy of which, since the death of Coligny, they could not consider otherwise than as hostile to Protestantism. Even many Roman Catholics were disgusted by the atrocities committed in France, the details of which were spread over all the country by means of publications on the subject.* Montluc had therefore immense difficulties to overcome, in order to attain the object of his mission. He was strongly supported by his court, which made the greatest efforts to prove that the affair of St Bartholomew had originated entirely from political, and not religious motives; and the Duke of Anjou himself, in a letter addressed to the states of Poland, disclaimed his participation in the atrocities of Paris.

The diet of election opened in April 1573. A contemporary writer, who was present at the scene, describes it as resembling more the camp of an army than a civil assembly, all parties being armed; but what most excited the admiration of that author was, that not the slightest bloodshed took place.†

* Choisin, a Frenchman, who was with Montluc in Poland, and described his embassy, says that all the ladies of Poland, in speaking of the massacre of St Bartholomew, shed tears as profusely as if they had been witnesses of the scene.

† "There were already at Warsaw many armed gentlemen and many lords, accompanied by a great number of their friends and vassals, who had arrived from all parts of the kingdom. The plain where they had pitched their

The details of the election of Henry of Valois belong to the political history of Poland; it will therefore be sufficient here to say, that, notwithstanding the great difficulties which the massacre of St Bartholomew had thrown in the way of Montluc, he succeeded, by dint of extraordinary efforts, in overcoming them. He denied all the charges which were brought forward against his candidate, promised everything which was demanded, subscribed to every guarantee of political and religious liberty which was required, and finally obtained his object. The Protestants had no foreign prince of their confession to present as a candidate ;

tents, and where the diet was to take place, had all the appearance of a camp. They were seen walking with long swords at their sides, and sometimes they marched in troops, armed with pikes, muskets, arrows, or javelins. Some of them, besides the armed men whom they brought for their guard, had even cannon, and were as if entrenched in their quarters. One might have said that they were going to a battle, and not to a diet ; and that it was an array of war, and not a council of state ; and that they were assembled rather to conquer a foreign kingdom than to dispose of their own. At least it was possible to suppose, on seeing them, that this affair would be decided rather by force and by arms, than by deliberation and votes.

But what appeared to me the most extraordinary was, that amongst so many companies of armed men, and with such impunity, at a time when neither laws nor magistrates were acknowledged, neither a single murder was committed, nor a sword drawn ; and that these great differences, where the matter was to give or to refuse a kingdom, produced nothing but a few words ; so much is this nation averse to spill its blood in civil contests." (*Vide Vie de Commendoni, par Gratiani, livre iv. chap. x.*

they wished, therefore, to elect a native of the country ; but the jealousy of the Lutherans, to which I have alluded (page 267), rendered this impossible. The Protestants, therefore, perceiving that their opposition to Henry's election might embroil the country in a civil war, resolved to accept this candidate, exacting from him the most ample securities for their rights. The influence of Firley, who was the principal leader of the Protestant party, prescribed conditions favourable not only to the Protestants of Poland, but also to their brethren of France ; and these the French ambassador was obliged to sign, or to see the election of his candidate annulled.

By these conditions, signed on the 4th May 1573, the King of France was to grant complete amnesty to the Protestants of that country, as well as perfect liberty in religious exercises. All who wished to leave the country were at liberty to sell their property, or to receive their incomes, provided they did not retire into the dominions of the enemies of France ; whilst those who had emigrated could return to their homes. All proceedings against persons accused of treason were to be cancelled. Those who had been condemned were to be restored to honour and property, and a compensation was to be given to the children of those who had been murdered. Every Protestant who had been exiled or obliged to flee was to be restored to his property, dignities, &c. The king was to assign in every province, towns where the Protestants

might freely exercise their religion, &c.* These conditions, which the Polish Protestants, forming only a part of the nation, were so anxious to secure to their brethren of France, may give an idea of the advantages which the Protestant cause in general would have derived from the final establishment of the Reformation in Poland. It is scarcely possible to doubt, considering the great political importance of Poland at that time, and the zeal which the Polish Protestants evinced on every occasion to support their brethren abroad, that the triumph of Protestantism in Poland would have brought about the same result throughout all Europe.

An embassy, composed of twelve noblemen, amongst whom were several Protestants, went to Paris, in order to announce to the Duke of Anjou his elevation to the throne of Poland. Thuanus describes the universal admiration which they excited in Paris by the splendour of their retinues, and even more by their learning and accomplishments.† Their arrival pro-

* Popeliniere, *Histoire de France*, 1581, vol. ii. fol. 176, p. 2.

† There was not a single one amongst them who did not speak Latin; many knew the Italian and the Spanish languages; and some of them spoke our own tongue with such purity, that they might be taken for men educated on the banks of the Seine and the Loire, rather than for inhabitants of a country watered by the Vistula and the Dnieper. They have quite shamed our courtiers, who are not only ignorant themselves, but are, moreover, declared enemies of everything called knowledge. They could never answer any question addressed to them by these foreigners, otherwise than by a sign, or blushing with confusion. (*Thuanus*, lib. lvi.)

duced a favourable effect on the affairs of the French Protestants. The siege of Sancerre was discontinued, and the Protestants of that town received more tolerable conditions.* Although it was difficult for the court, on account of the predominance of the Romanist party in France, to grant to the Protestants the favourable terms which had been promised by Montluc, it made to them, by the edict of July 1573, several important concessions. Thus, all accusations and libels against them were prohibited; the towns of Montauban, Rochelle, and Nismes had conceded to them the free exercise of the Protestant religion, which might be professed privately everywhere except within two leagues of Paris; and the lives and properties of the Protestants were declared inviolable. Notwithstanding these concessions, the Protestant members of the Polish embassy, although abandoned, and even opposed, by their Roman Catholic companions, insisted upon the fulfilment of the conditions given by Montluc; but their demands produced no effect.†

* The contemporary French historian Popeliniere observes, in reference to that occasion, that the inhabitants of Sancerre, already half dead, were delivered by such a distant people (the Poles), more than by their neighbours. (Vol. ii. fol. 190, p. 2.)

† Popeliniere gives the text of the remonstrance addressed to Charles the Ninth by the Polish ambassadors, extending over four pages in folio. (*Vide* his *History*, vol. ii. fol. 196, *et seq.*) They also strongly urged the king to obtain the liberation of Coligny's widow, detained at Turin, and to revise the affair of Coligny, who had been condemned by a partial and unjust tribunal.

Whilst the Polish embassy was on its way to Paris, the Romanist party tried by intrigues to destroy the effect of the constitutional securities given to the religious liberty of the country. Hosius argued that the law of the 6th January 1573 (p. 269) was a criminal conspiracy against God, and therefore should be abolished by the new king; and he urged the Archbishop of Gniezno, and the notorious Cardinal of Lorraine, to prevent the newly-elected monarch from confirming by his oath the religious liberties of Poland. And when Henry had taken that oath, he openly recommended to him perjury, maintaining that an oath given to heretics may be broken even without absolution.* William Ruzeus, the confessor of Henry, was commissioned to explain to the monarch the duty of breaking the pledges given by him to the nation, and guaranteed by the sanctity of an oath. But Solikowski, a learned and zealous Roman Catholic prelate, addressed

* Hosius despatched his confidant, and afterwards his biographer, Rescius, to the king, to whom he represented, in a letter dated October 13, 1573, amongst other things, "that he ought not to follow the example of Herod, but rather that of David, who, to his greatest praise, kept not what he had thoughtlessly sworn. It mattered not in the present case about a single Nabal, but about thousands of souls who will be delivered into the power of the devil. As the king had sinned with Peter, so ought he to atone with him for his sin, amend his error, and reflect that the oath was not a bond for iniquity; and that there was no necessity for him to be absolved from his oath, because, according to every law, all that he had inconsiderately done was neither binding nor had any value."

to Henry even more dangerous advice than that of Hosius, representing that, submitting to the necessity, he should promise and swear everything that was demanded of him, in order to prevent a religious and civil war; but that, once possessed of the throne, he would have every means to crush heresy even without violence.

The solemn presentation of the diploma of election to Henry took place on the 10th September 1573, at the church of Notre Dame at Paris. The Bishop Karnkowski, a member of the Polish embassy, at the beginning of the ceremony entered a protest against the clause for securing religious liberty, inserted in the oath which the new monarch was to take on that occasion. This act produced some confusion, the Protestant Zborowski having interrupted the solemnity with the following words, addressed to Montluc:—"Had you not accepted, in the name of the duke, the conditions of religious liberty, our opposition would have prevented this duke from being elected our monarch." Henry feigned to be astonished, as if he did not understand the subject of dispute; but Zborowski addressed him, saying, "I repeat, Sire, that if your ambassadors had not accepted the condition of liberty to the contending religious persuasions, our opposition would have prevented you from being elected king; and that if you do not confirm these conditions, you shall not be our king." After this the members of the embassy surrounded their new monarch, and Herbert, a Roman Catholic, read the formula of

the oath prescribed by the electing diet, which Henry repeated without any opposition. The Bishop Karnkowski, who had stood aside, approached the king after he had sworn, and protested that the religious liberty secured by the royal oath was not to injure the authority of the Church of Rome ; and the king gave him a written testimony in favour of that protest.

Henry left Paris in September, but, travelling very slowly, arrived in Poland only in January 1574. Although he had confirmed by his oath the religious liberties of Poland, the fears of the Protestants were not entirely allayed, and they resolved carefully to watch their antagonists at the diet of the coronation. These fears were well founded ; and Gratiani, the secretary and biographer of Commendoni, who had left Cracow with the instructions of the Romanist party, met Henry in Saxony, where he represented to him that he had the right of governing Poland as an absolute monarch, and traced to him a plan for destroying the religious and political liberties of that country, which he had sworn in the most solemn manner to preserve. The arguments of Hosius, that the oath by which the monarch confirmed the rights of the heretics was not binding, became known, as well as his letters addressed to the Polish clergy, recommending them to set up the law of the 6th January 1573, and in which he stated that what the king had promised at Paris to the anti-Romanists was but a feint, and that as soon as he should be crowned, he would expel all religions contrary to Rome.

The bishops openly manifested their intention of changing the formula of the Parisian oath; whilst the legate of the Pope instigated his party to break its stipulations. These machinations produced their natural effect, and roused the just suspicions of the Protestants to such a height, that many of them were ready to prevent the coronation of Henry, and to declare his election null and void, so that the country was on the brink of a religious war.

The king himself was apparently unbiassed by either party; but he declared his readiness to take an oath unanimously prescribed to him by the senate and the chamber of nuncios, by which he was casting a doubt on the legality of the oath he had taken at Paris, which was prescribed, not unanimously, but by the majority of the national representatives. The influence of the Romanists was becoming more and more evident; and although the hour of the coronation was approaching, there was nothing yet decided about the formula of the oath which was to be sworn by the monarch on that occasion. Before the beginning of the solemnity, Firley the grand marshal, Zborowski the palatine of Sandomir, Radziwill the palatine of Vilna, and some other Protestant leaders, adjourned to the closet of the king, and proposed to him either to omit entirely that part of the oath which related to the religious affairs,—*i. e.* neither to guarantee the rights of the Protestants nor those of the Roman hierarchy,—or to confirm what he had sworn at Paris. The king, not daring openly to refuse

what he had solemnly promised, tried to elude their demand, by assuring them that he would guarantee the honour and the property of the Protestants ; but Firley insisted that the Parisian oath should be repeated without any restriction. But whilst the ceremony of the coronation was proceeding, and its final act,—the placing of the crown on the head of the monarch,—was about to be performed, Firley, seeing that no oath to the Protestants was taken, interrupted the solemnity, declaring, that unless the above-mentioned oath was pronounced, he would not permit the coronation to proceed. He and Dembinski, the chancellor of Poland, also a Protestant, presented to the monarch, who was kneeling on the steps of the altar, a scroll, containing the oath he had sworn at Paris. This boldness terrified the monarch, who rose from the place where he was kneeling. The bystanders were mute with astonishment ; but Firley took the crown, and said to Henry in a loud voice, *Si non jurabis, non regnabis*,—"If you will not swear, you shall not reign." This bold step created great confusion ; the Romanists were terror-struck, and dared not to oppose the high-minded Firley, who remained firm, although some Protestants, as Zborowski and Radziwill, had begun to waver. The king was obliged fully to repeat the oath of Paris ; and the bold action of Firley saved the religious liberty of his country, and prevented the outbreak of a civil war, which would undoubtedly have followed the king's refusal to confirm that liberty by his coronation oath.

This compulsory confirmation of the rights of the anti-Romanists by Henry could not, however, by any means allay their suspicions and fears. The bishops, supported by the favour of the monarch, grew every day bolder, and manifested projects which they had hitherto from prudential motives concealed; whilst a general discontent, originating in the opinion that the king had entirely fallen under the influence of the clergy, was rapidly spreading over the country. The influence of the Protestant family of Zborowski, who, having supported the election of Henry, enjoyed great favour with that monarch, was rapidly decreasing through the machinations of the papal legate; and the death of Firley, caused, as it was suspected, by poison, increased the fears of the anti-Romanists, and encouraged their enemies to new attempts. The profligate manners of Henry, who openly outraged all decorum, disgusted the nation; and the discontent rose to such a height, that the country was threatened with a civil war. This state of things was fortunately terminated by the flight of the king, who secretly left the country, on receiving news of the death of his brother, Charles the Ninth of France, whom he succeeded as sovereign of that country, under the name of Henry the Third.

The Poles, after having waited the promised return of Henry for about a year, declared the throne vacant; and Stephen Batory, prince of Transylvania, who rose to that dignity from the condition of a simple Hungarian

gentleman, was elected king. Batory owed this elevation entirely to his merit ; and his reputation rendered him so popular, that, although he was a Protestant, the clergy did not dare to oppose his election. They, however, despatched Solikowski, whose unprincipled advice to Henry I have mentioned in page 277. This prelate had to contend with great difficulties, as the delegation, composed of thirteen members, which was sent to announce to Batory his elevation to the throne of Poland, was composed, with only one exception, of anti-Romanists. This delegation carefully watched that Solikowski should have no private conversation with the new monarch ; but he eluded their vigilance, and obtained a nightly interview with Batory. This interview was fatal to the cause of the Reformation in Poland, for Solikowski succeeded in persuading Batory that he had no chance of maintaining himself on the throne to which he was elected, unless he would make a public profession of Romanism. Solikowski's arguments were supported by the consideration that the Princess Anna, sister to Sigismund Augustus, a matrimonial alliance with whom was a condition of his election, being a bigoted Romanist, would never accept of a Protestant husband. Batory was weak enough to be persuaded by these arguments ; and great was the dismay of the Protestant delegates when they next day saw the monarch on whom they had founded the final triumph of their cause, devoutly kneeling at the mass. This act re-ani-

mated the hopes of the Romanists, whose cause would have otherwise been ruined in Poland.

Batory, without the least hesitation, confirmed the rights of the anti-Romanist Confessions. He was strongly opposed to every religious persecution, rewarded merit without any regard to confessional differences, and rigorously repressed the attempts which were made during his reign to persecute the anti-Romanists. This great monarch, whose reign of ten years was one of the most glorious periods in the history of Poland, did, however, great harm to that country by his patronage of the Jesuits. I have already described their introduction by Hosius, and mentioned that they had gained the favour of Princess Anne, now queen of Stephen Batory (page 263). Protected by that princess, they insinuated themselves into the favour of her royal husband, particularly by their proficiency in different branches of science and literature, of which Batory was a zealous patron. They succeeded in persuading him that they were the most efficient promoters of learning and education; and it was on that account that Batory founded for their order the University of Vilna, the College of Polotzk, and some other establishments, in spite of the strong opposition of several influential Protestants, and endowed these institutions with considerable estates.

The influence of the Jesuits produced an unfavourable effect upon the foreign policy of Poland under that monarch, who, having repeatedly defeated the armies of Moscow, pene-

trated into its dominions. His victorious career was arrested by the peace of 1582, concluded through the influence of the celebrated Jesuit Possevinus, who, deluded by the cunning policy of the Tzar, Ivan Vasilovich, into the belief that he would submit his Church to the supremacy of Rome, persuaded Batory to abandon, through that peace, many great and lasting advantages which he would have obtained for his country had he prosecuted the war.

Stephen Batory died in 1586, and was succeeded on the throne of Poland by Sigismund the Third, son of John, king of Sweden, and Catherine Jaghellon, sister to Sigismund Augustus. His election was chiefly promoted by the circumstance of his being the only representative, through his mother, of the Jaghellonian dynasty, to which the nation was strongly attached, and which had ended in the male line with Sigismund Augustus. The mother of the new monarch was a bigoted Romanist, and entirely under the guidance of the Jesuits. Her royal husband, the son of the great Gustavus Vasa, although professing himself a Lutheran, was for some time wavering in his religious opinions, and showed a great inclination towards Romanism. He permitted his son and successor Sigismund to be educated in the Roman Catholic religion, expecting that it would facilitate his accession to the throne of Poland; and it was for the same reason that the young prince was taught the Polish language. King John had several negotiations with the Jesuit Possevinus and other papal envoys, respecting a

reconciliation with the Roman see ; and he proposed as conditions, that communion of both kinds, the marriage of priests, and the celebration of mass in the national language, should be permitted in Sweden. The Pope rejected these conditions ; and it is doubtful whether the king sincerely meant to bring about a reconciliation with Rome, as such a measure would probably have led to a revolt, and endangered the possession of his crown. He even regretted that he had permitted his son to be educated in the tenets of Rome ; but the young prince was so deeply imbued with them, that the harshest treatment from his father could not induce him to assist at the Lutheran worship. His disposition in that respect was so well known at Rome, that Sixtus the Fifth wrote to the ambassador of France, after Sigismund's election to the throne of Poland, that this prince would abolish Protestantism, not only in Poland, but also in Sweden. The election of such a monarch was ominous to the Protestant cause in Poland, already endangered by the lamentable partiality which Stephen Batory had shown to the Jesuits ; and the Romanist re-action, beginning under his reign, had been chiefly promoted by the schools which that order was everywhere establishing. If that re-action had succeeded in making considerable progress during the reign of a monarch who was anxious to maintain the religious liberty of his subjects, what might not be expected from the bigoted zeal of Sigismund the Third ; and, indeed, the policy of the long reign of

that infatuated sovereign,—from 1587 to 1632, —was uniformly directed to the promotion of the supremacy of Rome in all the foreign and domestic relations of Poland,—a policy to which he did not scruple to sacrifice the interests of the nation. This deplorable system undermined the welfare of Poland, and planted the seeds of all the evils which caused the decline and fall of that unfortunate country. The anti-Romanist party was still sufficiently strong to render all attempts at open persecution unsafe, which, moreover, was prohibited by the laws of the country. Sigismund, therefore, guided by the advice of his Jesuit counsellors, tried, and with lamentable success, to obtain by corruption what he dared not effect by oppression, adopting the same plan which had been presented by Gratiani to Henry of Valois (page 279.) Although the authority of the monarch was limited in many respects, yet he had the distribution of honours and riches to a much greater extent than many other sovereigns of Europe,* and he made a point never to bestow either, unless forced by circumstances, except on Ro-

* The kings of Poland had the disposition of a great number of domains, known under the name of *starosties*, which they were obliged to distribute to nobles, who held them for life. A gift of this nature, originally meant as a reward of service, was called *panis bene merentium*; but as the monarch had an entirely free distribution of these estates, he used them as a means of supporting his authority. They were converted into powerful instruments of seduction in the hands of Sigismund the Third, who rewarded with them those who deserted from Protestantism or the Greek Church, and became converts to Romanism.

manists, and, amongst these, most lavishly on proselytes, whom interest had converted, though argument left unconvinced. The influence of the Jesuits over that monarch was unlimited. He gloried in the appellation of the King of the Jesuits, which was given him by their antagonists ; and, indeed, he became a mere tool in the hands of the disciples of Loyola, who directed all his actions. Their patronage was the only road to preferment, and it could be secured only by a display of zeal for the interests of Rome in general, and for those of their order in particular. The consequence of this was, that the chief dignities of the state, and the rich starosties or domains of the crown, were obtained, not by services rendered to the country, but by a zealous profession of Romanism, and munificent donations bestowed on the order of the Jesuits. It was therefore but natural that their riches should increase so rapidly that in 1627 they could reckon four hundred thousand dollars of yearly income, *i. e.* about one hundred thousand pounds of English money,—an enormous sum for that time. Their colleges spread over the whole country, and they possessed at the time mentioned, fifty schools, where the greater part of the children of the nobles were educated, so that they obtained the great object of their ambition,—the superintendence of the national education, which they justly regarded as the surest means of establishing their influence, or rather their dominion, over the country.

I have related (page 226) the great progress

which the Reformation had made in Lithuania by the efforts of Prince Nicholas Radziwill, surnamed the Black, and those of his cousin and namesake Radziwill Rufus; and I have also mentioned the favour which King Stephen Batory showed to the Jesuits, founding for them the University of Vilna, besides several colleges. It was in Lithuania, where the majority of the inhabitants belonged either to the Protestant Confessions or to the Greek Church, that the children of Loyola displayed the greatest activity, in order to establish the dominion of their Church. The following description of the proceedings by which they attained their object has been given by a Polish Roman Catholic author of our days, who has made this subject his particular study, and whose works are characterized by diligent research and strict impartiality.*

Having described the foundation of the Jesuit colleges by Batory, he continues :—"The king's example was imitated by several Lithuanian magnates, but particularly by Christopher Radziwill, who founded for them a college at Nieswiz in 1584, having himself been led within the pale of the Roman Catholic Church by the efforts of the celebrated Jesuit Skarga, and induced his younger brethren, George, afterwards cardinal and latterly bishop of Vilna and Cracow, Albert, and Stanislaus, to abandon the Helvetian Confession. This return of the sons

* *Lukaszewicz's History of the Helvetic Churches of Lithuania*, in Polish. 2 vols. 8vo : Posen, 1842, 1843.

of Radziwill the Black to the Church of their fathers was a severe blow to the Helvetic Confession in Lithuania; for they immediately expelled from their extensive domains all the Protestant ministers, and gave up the churches to the Roman Catholics. This branch of the Radziwills now became the strong opponents of Protestantism, which was supported by Radziwill Rufus, and induced many Lithuanian nobles to return into the pale of the Church of Rome. The Jesuits, supported by the favour of King Stephen, invited to their Lithuanian colleges many of the most learned and talented members of this society, to teach in their schools and to preach in their churches. They attacked the Protestants with polemical writings; but so long as the Jesuits of Lithuania kept to this kind of warfare, the Protestants, who could oppose to them such men as Volanus, Lasicki, Sudrovius, &c. were a match for them; but they made there, as they did elsewhere, use of other arms. They declaimed from the pulpit against Zwinglius, Luther, Calvin, and their followers; they challenged the Protestants to public disputations, addressed the multitude in market and other public places, ingratiated themselves with influential nobles, in order to gain them over to their Church; in short, they omitted no means by which they could weaken or calumniate the anti-Romanists. They excited the mobs to destroy the Protestant churches, notwithstanding that, according to the laws of Lithuania, it was a capital crime. In 1581 they persuaded the Bishop

of Vilna not to allow the Protestants to carry their dead to the cemetery through the street in which their church was situated ; and as the Protestants took no notice of this prohibition, their pupils, accompanied by a rabble, attacked the Protestant clergymen returning from a burial, and nearly murdered them. The same pupils intended to destroy the Protestant churches of Vilna, taking advantage of the absence of the chief of the Lithuanian Protestants, Radziwill Rufus, palatine of Vilna, and commander of the forces of Lithuania, who was then making a campaign against Moscow. These excesses were, however, prevented by a rigorous order from the king, obtained by that grandee, who during the war had rendered very great services to the king and the country. Illustrious by his birth, fortune, and services, he enjoyed the favour of the sovereign, and possessed a powerful influence in the country ; and these he employed for the advantage of his co-religionists, supporting them with all the means at his disposal. He gave an asylum and maintenance to the ministers who were expelled by the sons of Radziwill the Black. He attached to his court learned Protestants, encouraged their labours by his liberality, and by his patronage promoted meritorious individuals of his confession to the dignities and offices of the state. Having always at his court and in his castles a considerable number of armed retainers, and being the commander-in-chief of the Lithuanian forces, he kept the Jesuits in order, and prevented them, in every

corner of Lithuania, from openly persecuting his co-religionists. But by his death the Protestants lost that support. Weakened by age, and exhausted by the fatigues of many campaigns, he died in 1584. His death was a cause of great affliction to the Protestants, but of no less joy to the Jesuits, for a tower of strength to the Helvetian Confession had fallen. It is true that his son Christopher succeeded to all his dignities; but as he had not done the same services to his country as his father, he did not possess his influence, whilst the Jesuits could oppose to him the Roman Catholic branch of the Radziwills. This branch now made the greatest efforts to undo the work of their father Radziwill the Black; and his son George, cardinal and bishop of Vilna, declared a war of extermination against the anti-Romanists of Lithuania. Immediately after having taken possession of his diocese, he ordered the Protestant works in all the libraries of Vilna to be violently seized, and burnt before the church of the Jesuits' College. A Protestant printer in that town continuing to print books of his confession without any regard to the episcopal prohibition, the Jesuits bribed his workmen, who, having stolen the types, ran away, and were sheltered by the Jesuits. There was not a corner of Lithuania where these fathers had not established their missions; and they were to be met in the houses of the nobles, in churches, at festivals, burials, fairs, in short, everywhere, and always making converts to their church. They endeavoured to reach the hearts of the multitude through their eyes, by

means of scenic religious exhibitions, representations of the canonization of saints, expositions of reliques with the greatest pomp and display, processions, &c. All this was calculated to impose upon the multitude, and to gain them over, in order to overpower the Protestants, whose worship the Jesuits never ceased to ridicule and to render odious in their polemical writings, always full of personalities. They spread calumnies against the most virtuous and the most learned individuals amongst the anti-Romanists, particularly against those who belonged to the Helvetian Church. Thus, for instance, they called Volanus,* who, by his abstemious manner of living, reached the age of nearly ninety years, a drunkard. They invented a story against Sdrowski,† whose learning was equal to that of the most erudite amongst them, that he had been guilty of a

* Andreas Volanus (Volan), born in Silesia, but educated in Poland, where he arrived in his early youth, was one of the most learned men of his time. Supported by the patronage of Radziwill the Black, he was invested with important offices, which he discharged with much credit, and was rewarded with grants of landed property. He composed several political works ; but he is chiefly known by his polemical writings against the Jesuits and Socinians. He died in 1610.

† Sdrowski Stanislaus was a most learned and virtuous man, minister of the Helvetian Church, and superintendent of the district of Vilna. He published several works, one of which, entitled *Idolatriæ Loyolitarum Oppugnatio*, excited the anger of the Jesuits to such a degree, that they demanded of the king that the author and the work should be burnt on the same pile. (*Lukaszewicz*, vol. ii. p. 192.)

theft, and had performed the office of an executioner. They ridiculed the Protestant synods and worship in every possible manner. Whenever a synod was convened, a pamphlet immediately appeared, containing a letter from the devil to the members of that assembly, some absurd story about its deliberations, &c. When a Protestant minister married, he was sure to have his epithalamium written by the Jesuits; and no sooner did one of them die, than the same fathers published letters addressed by him from hell to the principal persons of his congregation. All these productions, composed generally in doggrel verse, and full of coarse wit, necessarily produced a great effect upon the minds of the multitude. The Protestants refuted the calumnies propagated against them by the Jesuits; but the Jesuits repeated them over and over again, and finally succeeded in creating a general hatred and contempt for the Protestant ministers.*

These proceedings, which had their origin in the reign of Stephen Batory, were carried on with increased activity under that of Sigismund the Third, who was entirely devoted to the cause of the Jesuits. The schools and colleges which they opened everywhere became the most powerful means of conversion. The instruction was gratuitous; and they not only admitted, but endeavoured to attract to these establishments, Protestant pupils, or such as belonged to the Greek Church, by the reputation of the pro-

* *Lukaszewicz*, vol. i. pp. 47, 85.

fessors, and the great courtesy of their manners. This apparent liberality, which opened their schools gratuitously, without any regard to the confession of the pupils, gained them many partizans, even amongst anti-Romanists ; and as there were many instances of pupils who had completed their studies in the Jesuit colleges without abandoning their creed, many Protestant and Greek parents were induced to send their children to these colleges, which, besides the advantage of a gratuitous education, were to be found everywhere ; whilst, in order to educate their children at a Protestant school, they were generally obliged to send them to a considerable distance. The Protestants had, indeed, founded several excellent schools, in which the system of education was far superior to that of the Jesuits ; but as they were supported by voluntary contributions, they were unable to compete with those of their antagonists, which possessed ample and perpetual endowments. Many of those schools deriving their chief support from the liberality of some great families by whom they were founded, ceased to exist, or were converted into Roman Catholic establishments, as soon as their patrons returned into the pale of the old Church. The Jesuits took the greatest care to attach their pupils to their order, by treating them with extreme kindness, and indulging them in every way, endeavouring to detain them under their tuition as long as possible, in order to become thoroughly acquainted with their dispositions, and to form them into use-

ful tools for the promotion of their ends.* The Protestant pupils were the object of particular attention by the Jesuits ; and having seduced

* The system of education pursued by the Jesuits is admirably described by Broscius, a zealous Roman Catholic clergyman, professor in the University of Cracow, and one of the most learned men of his time, in a work published in Polish about 1620, under the title, *Dialogue of a Landowner with a Parish Priest*. This work excited the violent anger of the Jesuits ; but as they were unable to wreak their vengeance on the author himself, it fell on the printer, who, at their instigation, was publicly flogged, and afterwards banished. I extract from it the following remarks on their system of education. He says,—“The Jesuits teach children the Grammar of Alvar, which it is very difficult to understand and to learn ; and much time is spent at it. This they do for many reasons : First, that by keeping the child a long time in the school, they may receive as long as possible the above-mentioned presents [in another part of his work he proved that the Jesuits received in gifts from the parents of the children, whom they pretended gratuitously to educate, much more than they would have got had there been a regular payment] ; second, that by keeping the children for a long time in the school, they may become well acquainted with their minds ; third, that they may train the boy for their own plans and for their own purposes ; fourth, that in case the friends of the boy wish to have him from them, they may have a pretence for keeping him, saying, Give him time at least to learn grammar, which is the foundation of every other knowledge ; fifth, they want to keep boys at the school till the age of manhood, that they may engage for their order those who show most talent or expect large inheritances. But when an individual neither possesses talents nor has any expectations, they will not retain him. And what can he do ? Knowing nothing, and being unfit for any useful occupation, he must request the fathers to take care of him ; and they will provide him with some inferior office in the household of a benefactor of theirs, that they may make use of him afterwards as a tool for their views and purposes.”

the children, they obtained a powerful means of acting successfully on their parents. Whilst they were persecuting in every way the Protestant ministers and writers, they lavished every means of seduction on Protestant laymen, particularly men of rank and wealth. They insinuated themselves into their intimacy by their agreeable manners, extensive information, and varied accomplishments, and not unfrequently by rendering them important services. Having once established their influence in this manner, they endeavoured to convert those families, or at least some of their members, upsetting their faith by the subtilty of their arguments, or by witty strictures upon its tenets ; and having weakened their belief, they easily secured their conversion, by pointing out this step as the surest road to royal favour, and all the advantages dependent upon it. They were, besides, great match-makers, arranging marriages between Protestants of consequence and Roman Catholic ladies who had the advantages of beauty, accomplishments, or fortune, but were entirely under their influence. This policy proved exceedingly successful, for many Roman Catholic wives, if they did not succeed in converting their husbands, generally managed to educate their children in the tenets of their Church ; so that many Protestant families in this manner became Romanists. The missionary zeal of the Jesuits often produced most deplorable consequences in the bosoms of Protestant families, converting many a happy home into the abode of strife and wretched-

ness. Many families who had withstood all the bribes of worldly advantages with which they were tempted to desert their faith, were subjected to the severest affliction, by having some of their children seduced from their religion, to a Church which bade them look upon those who had hitherto been the objects of their reverence and affection, as enemies of God, doomed to perdition. And it was not unfrequently the case, that the affectionate entreaties, the deep anguish, nay, the despair, of those misguided but sincere victims of spiritual seduction, exercised a more powerful influence on the hearts of their parents, than could have been produced upon their minds by the most cogent reasoning. And, indeed, it is well known that the Church of Rome has won to herself more proselytes by touching the heart and striking the imagination, than by convincing through argument.

I cannot omit a characteristic anecdote, which illustrates the great tact and discernment of the Jesuits. During a riot at Vilna, instigated by those fathers who had excited the populace of that city against the Protestants, the son of a Protestant noble named Lenczycki, a boy of fifteen, went into the midst of an infuriated mob, crying, "Death to the heretics," and boldly proclaimed himself a Protestant, ready to die for his religion. The Jesuits were struck with admiration of the heroic conduct of the noble boy. They not only took care that no harm should be done to him, but overwhelmed him with caresses, and

restored him in safety to his parents. They then made great efforts to seduce him, and finally succeeded in their object, so that he became one of the most distinguished members of their order, and made many converts, including his own parents.

The Polish Jesuits produced some men of eminent talents ; such, for instance, as Casimir Sarbiewski, who is generally considered as the first Latin poet amongst the moderns ;* Smiglecki, or Smiglecius, whose treatise on logic was long used in the schools of several countries, and was reprinted at Oxford in 1658; and some few others ; but their system of education, as has been truly described by Broscius (page 296), was better calculated to arrest than to advance the progress of the intellect of the pupils ; for they practised the same system in Poland as in Bohemia, where, according to a remark of Pelzel, whom I have quoted (page 159), “ they imparted to their pupils only the outward shell of knowledge, retaining the kernel for themselves.” The melancholy effects of their education soon became manifest. By the close of Sigismund the Third’s reign, when the Jesuits had become almost exclusive masters of public schools, national literature had declined as rapidly as it had advanced during the

* Grotius was such an admirer of Sarbiewski, that he said of him, “ *Non solum equavit, sed etiam superavit, Horatium.*” However flattering to the national self-love of the author this judgment regarding his countryman, by such an authority as Grotius, may be, he is afraid that he cannot conscientiously subscribe to it.

preceding century. It is remarkable, indeed, that Poland, which, from the middle of the sixteenth century to the reign of Sigismund the Third (1632), had produced many splendid works on different branches of human knowledge, in the national as well as in the Latin language, can boast of but very few works of merit from that epoch to the second part of the eighteenth century, the period of the unlimited sway of the Jesuits over the national education. The Polish language, which had obtained a high degree of perfection during the sixteenth century, was soon corrupted by an absurd admixture of Latin; and a barbarous style, called Macaronic, disfigured Polish literature for more than a century. As the chief object of the Jesuits was to combat the anti-Romanists, the principal subject of their instruction was polemical divinity; and the most talented of their students, instead of acquiring sound knowledge, by which they might become useful members of society, wasted their time in dialectic subtilties and quibbles. The disciples of Loyola knew well, that of all the weaknesses to which human nature is subject, vanity is the most accessible; and they were as prodigal of praise to partizans as they were of abuse to antagonists. Thus the benefactors of their order became the objects of the most fulsome adulation, which nothing but the corrupted taste acquired in their schools could have rendered palatable. Their bombastic panegyrics, lavished upon the most unimportant persons, became, towards the end of the seventeenth century, almost the

only literature of the country,—proof sufficient of the degraded state of the public to which such productions could be acceptable. An additional proof of the retrocession of the national intellect, and the corruption of taste, under the withering influence of the Jesuits, is, that the most classical productions of the sixteenth century,—the Augustan era of the Polish literature,—were not reprinted for more than a century, although, after the revival of learning in Poland, in the second half of the eighteenth century, they went through many editions, and still continue to be reprinted. It is almost superfluous to add, that this deplorable condition of the national intellect produced the most pernicious effects on the political as well as social state of the country. The enlightened statesmen who had appeared during the reign of Sigismund the Third,—the Zamoyskis, the Sapiehas, the Zolkiewskis, whose efforts counterbalanced for a time the baneful effects of that fatal reign,—were educated under another system ; for that of the Jesuits could not produce any political character with enlarged views. Some exceptions there were to this general rule ; but the views of enlightened men could not be but utterly lost on a public which, instead of advancing in the paths of knowledge, were trained to forget the science and wisdom of its ancestors. It was therefore no wonder that sound notions of law and right became obscured, and gave way to absurd prejudices of privilege and caste, by which liberty degene-

rated into licentiousness; whilst the state of the peasantry was degraded into that of predial servitude.

It is well known that the Jesuits have been accused in many countries of favouring laxity of manners; and there is no doubt that many of their works have a decided tendency to weaken every precept of morality. This charge, however, I sincerely believe, cannot be laid at the door of the Polish Jesuits. They inflicted an immense injury upon the nation by the retrograde movement which their education gave to the national intellect: the generations brought up in their schools knew nothing but bad Latin; were full of prejudice, unruly, and riotous; but it is universally admitted that their manners were pure, and that domestic life in Poland was, during that period, graced by truly patriarchal virtues. I do not think, besides, that amongst the many casuistic writers of their order, who have advocated principles of more than doubtful morality, there is one Polish Jesuit.

The Jesuits having in some measure broken the ranks of the Protestants, began to make preparations for subjecting to the dominion of Rome the Eastern or Greek Church of Poland, which was then adhered to by about one-half of the population of the country, including many of its first families. The lands inhabited by that population did not originally belong to Poland, but were united to it during the fourteenth century. I shall describe in my concluding lecture

the establishment of the Greek Church amongst the Slavonic populations, comprehended under the general name of Russians, and give a short sketch of their history. I shall now only state, that the principality of Halich, or present Galicia, was united to Poland in 1340, not by mere conquest, but by the right of succession to its sovereignty claimed by the King of Poland, Casimir the Great, on the extinction of the reigning family of Halich. That wise monarch insured at once this important acquisition to his country, by confirming all the ancient rights and privileges of the inhabitants, and by extending to them all those liberties which Poland then already enjoyed. The greatest part of the population professing the tenets of the Eastern Church were, however, acquired by Poland in 1386, through its union with Lithuania, by the marriage of Jaghellon, grand duke of that country, with Hedvige, queen of Poland, and his consequent election to its throne. The manner in which the sovereigns of Lithuania established their dominion is very remarkable, and, I think, without parallel in modern history.

The Lithuanians, or Lettonians, constitute a separate race, distinct from the Slavonic and Teutonic. Their language, a branch of that of the great Indo-Germanic family, is considered more nearly related to the Sanscrit than any other modern or ancient idiom of Europe.*

* The late Professor Bohlen of Königsberg, who was considered as a great Sanscrit scholar, told the author that he had submitted to Lithuanian peasants whole phrases in

This race inhabited from time immemorial the shores of the Baltic, from the mouths of the Vistula eastwards to the banks of the Narva, and extended to a considerable distance southwards. They were divided into Prussians, Lettonians or Livonians, and Lithuanians, differing from each other by slight dialectic variations. The conquest and conversion of the Prussians was attempted by the Polish monarchs during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but with only very transient success. This object was achieved in the thirteenth century by the German order of Knights Hospitallers, who partly exterminated and partly converted, but reduced to the most oppressive bondage, the natives of the land; and a similar fate about the same time befel the Lettonians or Livonians, from another German order, that of the Sword-bearers. The remainder of this race, or the Lithuanians, succeeded, however, not only in maintaining their national idolatry and independence, but in establishing a powerful empire by the conquest of the western Russian principalities, which far surpassed in extent the original seats of the conquerors. This conquest was achieved more by policy than by force of arms, and under very peculiar circumstances. The above-mentioned principalities, inhabited by a population con-

Sanscrit, which they were perfectly able to understand. In relating this curious circumstance, the author himself is, however, unable to express any opinion as to its correctness, not being a competent judge of the subject.

verted to the Christianity of the Greek Church, had been in a state of great weakness and disorder since the invasion of the Mongols in 1240, of which I shall speak in my next lecture, and were, moreover, frequently exposed to the ravages of those barbarians. The Lithuanian sovereigns began about the middle of the thirteenth century gradually to occupy these principalities, securing to their inhabitants the undisturbed enjoyment of their religion, language, and local customs, and appointing as governors of their provinces, princes of the reigning family, who became converts to the Church, followed by the populations entrusted to their government. Internal troubles suspended for some time the development of the Lithuanian empire ; but these having been settled, it rapidly advanced, particularly after the accession of Ghedimin, about 1320. This sovereign, endowed with great military and political qualities, occupied, almost without resistance, the country extending between the Lithuanian dominions and the Black Sea, which he organized in a feudal manner, entrusting the several principalities into which it was divided to his sons, who held them as his vassals, or leaving the princes whom he found established there to rule in the same capacity as before. His sons, who were entrusted with these provinces, were all baptized, and received into the Greek Church ; and some of them married to the princesses belonging to the families which had reigned over these countries. He himself assumed the title of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and Russia ; and

although he remained in the idolatry of his nation, his Christian subjects became so loyal to their pagan sovereign, that they faithfully served him in all the wars, not only against the followers of the Western Church,—Germans and Poles,—but even against those who belonged to their own, *i. e.* Moscow. The Russian dialect of the north-western principalities, or that of White Russia, which were first annexed to Lithuania, was adopted for the official transactions of that country, and continued so till about the middle of the seventeenth century, when it was gradually superseded by that of the Polish. Ghedimin was succeeded by his son Olgherd, an ambitious and talented prince, who was baptized into the Greek Church on his marriage with a princess of Vitepsk. He attended Christian worship at Kioff, and other towns of his Russian possessions, built churches and convents, and was prayed for by his Christian subjects as the orthodox Grand Duke Olgherd; but at Vilna, the capital of Lithuania proper, he sacrificed to his national idols, and adored the sacred fire which was kept continually burning in a fane of that capital,—a religious dualism which has no parallel in history, except, perhaps, in the dignity of the supreme Pontiff of Rome, retained for some time by the Christian emperors of Constantinople. He is said to have died as a Christian; but his body was burnt with all the pagan rites of his ancestors. Several of his sons were baptized and educated in the tenets of the Greek Church; but Jaghellon, who succeeded him on

the throne, was brought up in the pagan creed of his nation. He became, however, a convert to the Christianity of the Western Church in 1386, on his marriage with Hedvige, Queen of Poland, to the crown of which country he was elected at the same time. He also brought about the conversion of the Lithuanian idolators* to the same Church, whilst the followers of the Greek Church remained in their former confession.

The Archbishops of Kioff, metropolitans of the Russian Churches, transferred their residence in the middle of the thirteenth century to Vladimir, and afterwards to Moscow, whence they maintained their spiritual jurisdiction over the Churches of the Lithuanian dominions ; but the Grand Duke Vitold, whom I had an opportunity of mentioning (page 89), in 1415 caused the election of an Archbishop of Kioff, independent of that of Moscow. The union be-

* Paganism lingered, however, in Lithuania for a considerable time after the conversion of its sovereign. This was particularly the case in Samogitia, a province lying near the shores of the Baltic, southward of Courland, where the last sacred grove was cut down, and the national idolatry entirely abolished, only in 1420. It is a curious fact, that in 1390 Henry the Fourth of England, as Earl of Derby, engaged in a crusade, along with the German knights of Prussia, against Lithuania, which was represented by those knights as still pagan, although it had already been baptized four years before. Henry fought under the walls of Vilna against the Lithuanians and Poles, and in single combat killed Prince Czartoryski, brother to Jaghellon. This fact is related in the Lithuanian chronicles, as well as by Walsingham, who says that Henry killed the brother of the King of Polayne.

tween the Eastern and Western Churches, concluded at Florence in 1438, was not acceded to by the Lithuanian Churches, although some prelates had attempted to introduce it. The Churches of Halich, united with Poland in 1340 (page 303), acknowledged the Archbishop of Kioff as their metropolitan, and he himself depended on the Patriarch of Constantinople, from whom he received his consecration. The Greek Church of Poland had therefore a completely organized hierarchy, and a great number of convents and other ecclesiastical establishments, endowed with considerable landed property. The bishops were elected by the nobles or landowners, confirmed by the king, and then consecrated by the archbishop. Thus the hierarchy of that Church was generally composed of nobles, many of whom were men of learning, often educated in foreign universities, or in that of Cracow. I have already said that many great families of Lithuania belonged to the Greek Church. Such were the Princes Czartoryski, Sanguszko, Wiszniowietzki, Ostrogski, &c. The Greek subjects of Poland were no less loyal to their country than the Roman Catholics: they filled the highest offices of the state; and it is remarkable that the greatest victory which the Poles ever won over the Muscovites,—that of Orsha, in 1515,—was gained by Prince Constantine Ostrogski, a follower of the Greek Church, and a zealous opponent of its union with Rome.

Such was the state of the Greek Church in Poland when the Jesuits undertook to subject it to the supremacy of Rome, by introducing

the union of Florence. They commenced their work by the publication of writings advocating that union, at the same time making every possible effort to gain over to their cause the most influential clergymen of that Church, particularly by holding out to them the prospect that their bishops would have seats in the senate, like those of the Roman Catholic Church. They did not attempt to convert the pupils belonging to the Greek Church who frequented their schools, as they did those of the Protestants ; they merely tried to gain them over to their views regarding the union with Rome, which having accomplished, they induced them to enter the Church to which they belonged, instructing them to conceal their intentions, but to prepare quietly and cautiously the ground for the projected union, until the proper time to act openly should arrive. The charge of assuming the mask of a religious confession opposed to their own Church, in order to undermine and destroy it, has been often made against the Jesuits ; but I do not think that it is possible to establish in any case such a strong and indubitable evidence of this nefarious proceeding as that which is afforded by the history of the union of the Greek Church of Poland with Rome, brought about by their machinations. The individual chosen by the Jesuits to play the principal part in this drama, which inflicted a mortal blow on the most vital interests of Poland, was a Lithuanian noble called Michael Rahoza, educated in their schools, and who, having taken orders

in the Greek Church, was rapidly promoted by the influence of his protectors, and nominated at their recommendation, by King Sigismund the Third, Archbishop of Kioff, in violation of the established custom, according to which he should have been elected by the nobles of his Church, and only confirmed by the king. The Jesuits, who directed all his actions, addressed to him a written instruction how he was to destroy the party opposed to Rome, and feign at the same time an attachment to that party. This remarkable document, which throws a strong light upon the unscrupulous means by which some zealous adherents of Rome try to overcome its opponents, has been printed in the work of Lukaszewicz, which I have repeatedly quoted; and in the note below I give its literal translation from the original Polish, retaining the Latin expressions with which it is interlarded.* It contains, as the reader will

* “It is our wish that you should consider our counsels and exhortations, as a proof of our good wishes for yourself, as well as for the general good of the Catholic Church. Because, although we readily acknowledge that it is our duty and profession to promote, above all things, the increase of the Church universal, it is nevertheless this same *erga publicum bonum zelus* which makes our benevolence towards your person increase in proportion to your merits, and the pledges which you give of your good disposition towards that same holy Church. It will be indeed the source of great comfort to the Catholics when they shall see the long-desired union accomplished by the care and wise direction of such a great pastor as yourself; but it will be a no less great ornament to you when, being the primate of the Eastern Church in this country, you

see, a curious specimen of Jesuit diplomacy. The prelate to whom it is addressed is flattered regarding his zeal and talents, tempted by the

shall occupy in the council of state a place by the side of the primate of the realm.* This, however, will be utterly impossible so long as you shall in the least depend upon a patriarch who is under the dominion of infidels, or have with him any intercourse whatever ; because, until that connection is severed, not only respect for religion, but also *ratio status*, will not allow the king and the states of the realm to grant you this privilege.† Why should the Polish provinces, which follow the rites of the Eastern Church, be worse than Muscovy, which has its own patriarch ! You have already successfully broken the first ice ; and as, on entering your dignity, you have not sought to receive the benediction of the Patriarch of Constantinople, on account of the superstition with which the Greeks, living amidst infidels, and remote from the fountain-head of the true doctrine, have become imbued, you may as well do without it for the future. *Non terreant* you all the obstacles and impediments ; a great part of them are entirely set aside, and the remainder may be equally removed by wise counsel, and steady pursuit of projects once undertaken. It is, indeed, not a little impediment to our saintly intentions which has already been removed, since the election of the prelates and metropolitans begins to pass from the hands of the nobles, who have partly guessed our zeal in converting the followers of the Greek Church, and may afterwards guess more ; and therefore it is to be feared that they might present to the function which you are administering, such subjects as might destroy the foundations of the good work and edifice which you

* The Archbishop of Gniezno.

† It is amusing to see that the Jesuits give a political reason, and undoubtedly a very just one, why the Greek Archbishop of Kioff could not have a seat in the senate of his country, namely, his dependence upon a foreign ecclesiastical authority, *i. e.* the Patriarch of Constantinople ; forgetting that the Roman Catholic bishops who sat in the senate depended upon the Pope, who was a much more formidable authority than the Patriarch.

hope of occupying one of the highest dignities in the state, and taught how to pursue a systematic line of policy, consisting of a series of deceits

have begun. It was certainly not without Divine Providence that, not having elected you to this *fastigium*, neither have they been as yet able to pull you down from it ; and they don't know what to say to it, because you have the privilege of his majesty. You have in the kingdom (Poland) and Lithuania, *privatim clientelas*, and a powerful party which supports you ; you also have, *publice*, the whole Catholic Church, which will back you in time of need. Who, then, *thronum reposcet* from you, if, following the example of the western prelates, you shall choose for yourself, *in spem et casum successionis*, a coadjutor for whom the royal privilege will be ready, provided he should be ready to follow in your footsteps ! For the rest, pay no attention either to the clergy or the foolish outbreaks of an insane mob. With regard to the clergy, you may keep them in submission more easily by the following means :— Appoint to all vacant places no people of consequence, because they may be unruly ; but simple, poor, and such as will entirely depend upon you. Put down and deprive of their benefices, under some pretence or other, all those who will oppose or disobey you ; and give their benefices and revenues to those upon whom you may rely. However, exact from each of them an annual payment for your see ; but take care that they also shall not become unruly by being in too good circumstances ; therefore translate those whom you may suspect, from one place to another, according as circumstances may require. It will also do no harm to reduce others, entrusting them, *per speciem honoris*, with commissions of consequence, but performed at their own expense. Have always some protopapas,* who are generally an inferior kind of people, about you, and train them betimes to follow your usages. Impose taxes upon the parish priests for the general benefit of the holy

* The protopapa is one degree higher than the parish priest, and the highest to which a secular clergyman of the Greek Church can rise, all ecclesiastical dignities being reserved in that Church for the regular clergy.

and positive frauds. This document may give an idea of the means employed by the Jesuits and their tools for gaining over the other mem-

Church, and take particular care that they shall not convene synods, nor have any meetings, without your authorization ; and if some of them should dare to disobey in this respect your severe orders, *ad carceres* with them. With regard to the laity, particularly the common people, as you have till now acted *prudentissime*, so continue to be as careful as possible that they shall have no cause of suspecting your real plans and intentions. Therefore, should there be any apprehensions of war with them, we advise you not to attack them openly ; but rather in time of peace to employ every possible means to catch and to gain over the leading men amongst them, doing it either by your tools, or by rendering them some services, or simply by gifts. Ceremonies (Roman) must not be suddenly introduced into your Church ; this may be gradually effected. Disputes and controversies with the Western Church are, *in speciem*, not to be neglected ; and similar other means are to be employed in order to cover every trace of your undertaking, by which not only the eyes of the populace, but even those of the nobles, may be blinded. Separate schools may be opened for their youths, provided the pupils are not prohibited from frequenting Catholic churches, and completing their education in the schools of our society. The word *union* must be entirely banished : it will not be difficult to substitute another word more supportable to the ears of the people. "Those who attend elephants avoid to wear red coats." With regard to the nobles in particular, it is necessary above all things to inculcate on them (making of it a case of conscience) that they should have no connection with the heretics, either in Poland or in Lithuania, but, on the contrary, faithfully assist the Catholics in eradicating them. This advice is in our opinion of the greatest importance, because, until the heretics shall be exterminated in our country, no perfect concord and union between the Greek and Catholic Churches may be expected to take place in it. For how can the followers of the Eastern Church entirely submit to the authority of the holy father, so long as there is

bers of the Greek Church of Poland ; and it is no wonder that they made considerable progress. When the ground was prepared in this manner, the Archbishop of Kioff in 1590 convened a synod of his clergy at Brest, in Lithuania, to whom he represented the necessity of a union with Rome, and the advantages which would thereby accrue to their country and to their Church ; and, indeed, it was certainly not only more flattering to the self-love of the clergy, but even more congenial to the feelings of the more intelligent of them, to depend upon the head of the Western Church, who was surrounded by all the prestige that wealth and power can give, and whose authority, supported by men of the most eminent talents and learning, was acknowledged by powerful and

in Poland people who, having formerly been members of the Western Church, have revolted against its authority ? For the remainder, let us rely in the first place upon God, and then upon the vigilance of his majesty the king, who has in his hands the disposition *Beneficiorum spiritualium*, as well as on the zeal of those landowners who, having in their estates the *jus patronatus*, will admit to the performance of the Divine worship only Uniats ; having at the same time a good hope, that such a pious and saintly monarch, and his council, so ardently zealous for the Catholic worship, who have already begun to oppress the apostates from the holy Catholic religion, partly by the tribunals, and partly by the diets, will give in the same manner such a pull to the obstinate schismatics, that, *volens volens*, they shall submit to the authority of the holy father. We monks shall not be wanting in assisting this work, not only by our prayers, but also by our labours in the vineyard of the Lord." (Extract from a letter addressed by the College of the Jesuits of Vilna to the Archbishop Rahoza. *Lukasiewicz*, vol. i. p. 70.)

civilized nations, than on the Patriarch of Constantinople, the slave of an infidel sovereign, by whose appointment he held his dignity, and presiding over a Church degraded by gross ignorance and superstition. The archbishop's project found much favour with the clergy, but met with a strong opposition from the laity. Another synod was convened at the same town in 1594, at which several Roman Catholic prelates assisted. After some deliberation, the archbishop and several bishops signed their consent to the union concluded at Florence in 1438, by which they admitted the *Filioque*, or the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, purgatory, and the supremacy of the Pope; retaining the Slavonic language in the celebration of Divine service, and the ritual, as well as the discipline, of the Eastern Church. A delegation was sent to announce this event at Rome, where it was received with great distinction by Pope Clement the Eighth. After the return of that delegation, the king in 1596 ordered the convocation of a synod for the publication and introduction of the union. It assembled again at Brest; and the Archbishop of Kioff, as well as the other prelates who had subscribed to that union, made a solemn proclamation of this act, addressed thanks to the Almighty for having brought back the stray sheep into the pale of his Church, and excommunicated all those who opposed the union. The greater part of the laity, with Prince Ostrogski, palatine of Kioff, at their head, as well as the bishops of Leopold and Premysl

(the present Galicia), declared, however, against that measure; and the prince assembled a numerous meeting of the nobility and clergy adverse to Rome, at which the bishops who had brought about the union were excommunicated. The party of the union, however, supported by the king and the Jesuits, began an active persecution against its opponents, and a great number of churches and convents were taken from them by violence. Rudzki, who succeeded Rahoza in the metropolitan see, and who, having been educated and converted from Protestantism by the Jesuits, had become their blind tool, was promoting the union with a high hand. The Bishop of Polotzk, Josaphat Koncewicz, a prelate of irreproachable life, but of a most intolerant zeal, having met with great opposition in his diocese, proceeded against his antagonists with such violence as to excite a great alarm amongst the wiser of the Roman Catholics. Prince Leo Sapieha, Chancellor of Lithuania, one of the most eminent statesmen the country has produced, strongly represented to Koncewicz that his proceedings were as impolitic as they were unchristian. His letter, a translation of which will be found in the note below, gives a fair idea of the violence of the Romanist party, as well as of the mischief which they were inflicting upon the country.* But the influence of the Jesuits was

* Sapieha, in this letter, dated Warsaw, April 12, 1622, says,—“By the abuse of your authority, and by your deeds, which originate rather in vanity and personal ha-

already strong enough to render nugatory the efforts which Sapieha was making to avert the growing evil. Koncewicz pursued his career of

tred than in charity towards your neighbour, and are contrary to the laws of our country, you have kindled these dangerous sparks, which may produce an all-consuming fire. Obedience to the laws of the country is more necessary than the union with Rome. An ill-judged propagation of the union injures the majesty of the sovereign. It is right to labour that there should be but one fold and one shepherd ; but it is also necessary to labour with reflection, and not to apply the *cogi intrare*, which is contrary to our laws. A general union can be promoted only by charity, and not by force ; therefore it is no wonder that your authority meets with opposition. You inform me that your life is in danger ; but I think it is your own fault. You tell me that you are bound to imitate the ancient bishops by sufferings. The imitation of the great pastors is indeed praiseworthy, and you should imitate their piety, doctrine, and meekness. Read their lives, and you will not find that they brought indictments before the tribunals of Antioch or Constantinople ; whilst all the courts of justice are busied with your prosecutions. You say that you must seek defence against the agitators. Christ, being persecuted, did not seek for it, but prayed for his persecutors : so ought you likewise to act, instead of scattering offensive writings, or uttering menaces, of which the apostles have left no example. Your sanctity assumes that you are permitted to despoil the schismatics, and to cut off their heads : the gospels teach the contrary. This union has created great mischief. You offer violence to consciences, and you shut up churches, so that Christians perish like infidels, without worship or sacraments. You abuse the authority of the monarch, without even having asked permission to make use of it. When your proceedings cause disturbances, you directly write to us that it is necessary to banish the opponents of the union. God forbid that our country should be disgraced by such enormities ! Whom have you converted by your severities ? You have alienated the hitherto loyal Cossacks ; you have converted sheep into goats ; you have drawn danger on

persecution until the inhabitants of Vitepsk, who had on many occasions distinguished themselves by their loyalty to the crown of Poland, excited by certain priests, rose on the 12th July 1623, and murdered the intolerant prelate, who received the honours of canonization in 1643; and this crime was followed by a severe punishment. The most pernicious political consequence produced by the union was the disaffection of the Cossacks of the Ukraine, who were zealously attached to the tenets of the Eastern Church. They composed a large armed body, inured to the dangers and hardships of a military life by a constant border warfare with the Turks and the Tahtars. The Cossacks, who had received a regular organization from Stephen Batory, loyally served Poland, not only against her Mahomedan neighbours, but also against the Muscovites, who professed the same creed as themselves. It

the country, and perhaps even destruction on the Catholics. The union has not produced joy, but only discord, quarrels, and disturbances. It would have been much better if it had never taken place. Now, I inform you that, by the king's command, the churches must be opened and restored to the Greeks, that they may perform Divine service. We do not prohibit Jews and Mahomedans from having their places of worship, and yet you are shutting up Christian temples. I receive threats from every part, that all connection with us will be broken off. The union has already deprived us of Starodub, Severia, and many other towns and fortresses. Let us beware that this union do not cause your and our destruction." This condemnation of the bishop's conduct by Sapieha is the more remarkable, as he was himself born and educated a Protestant, but afterwards seduced into Romanism.

was therefore as impolitic and dangerous as it was unjust, to irritate the followers of the Eastern Church by a religious persecution, which might easily convert them from loyal subjects into deadly enemies. Attempts at forcing the union upon the Cossacks produced some partial outbreaks amongst them, which, however, were easily put down, as the great bulk of the population were retained in their loyalty by the great popularity which Prince Vladislav, eldest son of the king, enjoyed amongst them, as well as by their no less popular hetman, or commander-in-chief, Peter Konaszewicz. This leader rendered immense services to his country during its wars with Turkey and Moscow ; but he was a no less devoted son of the Eastern Church than of Poland. It was under his protection that the party opposed to the union convened a synod at Kioff, which elected an archbishop of that place, and other prelates, instead of those who had accepted the union, and they were consecrated by Theophilus, patriarch of Jerusalem, who had arrived at Kioff, on his return from Moscow to the east. Thus the union divided the Eastern Church of Poland into two opposite and hostile Churches, and the ecclesiastical disruption was soon followed by one of a political nature. But I must now return to the affairs of the Protestants.

The union of Brest, although rejected by a great number of the nobles and clergy, as well as by the great majority of the inferior classes, was, however, accepted by many influential

clergymen and rich nobles, which gave increased strength to the party of the Jesuits, and emboldened them to proceed with greater violence against the Protestants, adding persecution to seduction. The laws of the country not permitting the anti-Romanists to be oppressed by public authorities, the Jesuits effected the same end by exciting the lower classes, through means of the pulpit and the confessional, to acts of violence against Protestant churches and schools, as well as against ministers, and insuring, by their intrigues, impunity for these crimes. I have stated that King Sigismund the Third, during his long reign, conferred the most important offices of the state on individuals recommended to him by the Jesuits. The courts of justice were composed of elective magistrates, returned for a short time; and it was therefore easy for the Jesuits to fill these tribunals with persons devoted to their interests; because, having attained an almost exclusive control over the education of the nobles, or the ruling class of the country, the generations educated in their schools were entirely under their direction; and this gave them an immense influence over the administration of justice throughout the whole country. It was therefore no wonder that the perpetrators of the greatest outrages upon the Protestants should escape punishment with such tribunals, who acquitted the guilty by legal quibbles, a flaw in the evidence, &c.; or, when the case was too flagrant, the guilty were provided with means of escaping by flight from the consequences of the decree which the tribunal

could not avoid awarding against the culprits. In many cases the guilty were sheltered from punishment, the aggrieved parties being often prevented by intimidation from prosecuting the offenders, as well as by the consideration that such a step would produce no other result than expense to the prosecutor. Attempts to destroy Protestant places of worship, to disturb their burials by offering indignities to the dead bodies, and to ill treat the ministers, had been made even before the accession of Sigismund the Third, but they generally met with proper punishment. Under the reign of that monarch, however, a systematic war by mob riots, excited by the Jesuits or their tools, was begun against the Protestants. Thus, in 1591, the Protestant church of Cracow was burned down by a mob, led on by some students of the university, and instigated by the Jesuits.* No

* Heydensteyn says that this riot was occasioned by some Scotch, who had then a considerable congregation at Cracow, and who having commenced a public disputation about religion, which led to a quarrel, were carried away by the *perfervidum Sotorum ingenium* to such a degree, that they killed some of their adversaries. The contemporary Thuanus positively states that it was produced at the instigation of the Jesuits. The Jesuit Skarga, who published a pamphlet on that occasion, accused the Protestants of having begun the riot, and maintained, in the same pamphlet, that what existed unlawfully might be destroyed without injustice ; and that this was the case with the Protestant Church of Cracow, because the local bishops, to whom, by the authority of God, judgment concerning the truth of religion exclusively belongs, had not authorized its erection. Therefore, according to this doctrine, no religious establishment which has not been approved by the Roman Catholic clergy is lawful.

justice against the perpetrators of this crime was obtained; and the Protestants, in order to avoid the recurrence of a similar calamity, transferred their place of worship to a village in the vicinity of Cracow, where, however, they were not always secure from repeated attacks. This, and the personal insults and acts of violence to which the Protestants were frequently exposed, induced a great number of the Protestant citizens to emigrate from that city, by which its welfare was much injured. The Protestant churches at Posen, Vilna, and other places, were destroyed in the same manner, the graves of the dead profaned, and the ministers ill treated. The Protestants tried in vain to resist this persecution. Soon after the accession of Sigismund the Third, they projected the establishment of a university at Vilna, in order to counterbalance that of the Jesuits; but it was prevented by an ordinance of the king, and the influence of the clergy. Their numbers were now daily diminishing by a continual desertion to the Church of Rome, caused by the systematic seduction which I have described; and the persecution increased in the same ratio as their forces decreased. The only means by which this persecution could have been withstood would have been a strong union amongst all the anti-Romanists of the country; but, alas! the contrary took place, and the covenant of Sandomir was, after great and unsuccessful efforts to maintain it, finally dissolved by the Lutherans. An attempt was made to arrange a union between the Protestants and the Greek

Church, at a meeting convened at Vilna in 1599; but it could not be effected. A confederation for mutual defence was, however, concluded, but unfortunately it remained on the paper without producing any consequences.

At the conclusion of the long reign of Sigismund the Third (1587–1632), Protestantism may be said to have been entirely broken up, although it had still many followers, amongst whom were some of the great families of the country,—the Leszczyńskis, a branch of the Radziwills, &c. The great and sole object of Sigismund's reign was therefore attained, but at the sacrifice of the most vital interests of the country.* And, indeed, although some important

* Sigismund lost his own hereditary kingdom of Sweden, where he tried to restore Romanism. The fine province of Livonia, inhabited by a Protestant population, which had voluntarily submitted to Poland under Sigismund Augustus, was lost to Poland by the bigotry of that monarch. Strong discontent was created amongst its inhabitants by the introduction of the Jesuits into Riga and some other towns by Batory; and this greatly facilitated its conquest by the Swedes. Prince Radziwill successfully defended that province against the Swedes, and maintained, by his personal influence, its Protestant population in their allegiance to his sovereign. But Sigismund and his Jesuits, who hated Radziwill on account of his being a zealous Protestant, refused to him every assistance. Thus, in order to prevent a Protestant subject from distinguishing himself, although it was against a Protestant nation, an important province was sacrificed. The same thing occurred in Polish Prussia, where several towns made scarcely any resistance to Gustavus Adolphus, although favourable circumstances prevented the loss of that province to Poland. His son, Prince Vladislav, was in 1612 elected czar by the Muscovites, and would have occupied their throne without op-

provinces were added during his reign, by a successful war with Muscovy, this advantage was more than counterbalanced by the retrograde movement given to the national intellect by the schools of the Jesuits, and the discontent of the

position ; but instead of taking advantage of a circumstance so favourable to Poland, Sigismund refused to confirm the treaty concluded to that effect by the Polish general Zolkiewski, and tried to possess himself of the crown of Moscow. His known bigotry, and his zeal to propagate the union with Rome, were too well known, and led the Muscovites to a desperate resistance against a connection with Poland, which they themselves had before sought. The influence of his Loyolaite advisers rendered him entirely subservient to the policy of Austria, whose interests he always promoted, to the detriment of those of his own kingdom. Thus, when the Bohemians rose in defence of their religion and political liberties against the house of Austria, instead of following the policy of Casimir Jaghellon (p. 142), who had supported that cognate nation against the oppression of the same house, he sent, without the consent of the diet, a strong body of Cossacks to Hungary, which greatly contributed to arrest the success of Bethlem Gabor, prince of Transylvania (p. 154) ; but having irritated the sultan, he involved Poland in a war with Turkey, unnecessary as well as injurious to her interests.

It is a remarkable circumstance, that Princess Anna, sister of Sigismund the Third, was a zealous Protestant, and that all the attempts to convert her to Romanism made by that monarch, who had a great regard for her, were unavailing. Puffendorf, in his *History of Sweden*, relates, that when her mother, Catherine Jaghellon, was on her death-bed, she was so much tormented by the fear of purgatory, that her confessor, the Jesuit Warszewicki (a celebrated author), took compassion on her, and told her that purgatory was nothing but a fable invented for common people. These words were overheard by the young Princess Anna, who stood behind the curtain of her mother's bed, and induced her to study the Scriptures, which led her to embrace the Protestant religion.

anti-Romanist population, particularly the followers of the Greek Church, which were the principal causes of the decline and fall of Poland.*

Sigismund was succeeded by his eldest son, Vladislav the Fourth, who was of a character entirely opposed to that of his father. His mind was enlightened by considerable information, which, with his experience of the evils caused by the bigotry of his father, induced in him so strong a dislike to the Jesuits, that he never would admit any member of that order to his court. His naturally benevolent disposition and upright character made him loathe

* Being a Protestant, it is very natural that I may be suspected of having exaggerated the pernicious consequences of the Roman Catholic re-action upon the destinies of my country. I therefore subjoin the following account of the influence which the Jesuits exercised on the councils of Sigismund the Third, and of its effects on the affairs of the country, given by Piasecki, a Roman Catholic bishop : —“ *Subter finem ejusdem anni (1616) decesserat quoque cubuli regii præfectus Andreas Bobola, octogenarius. Homo rudis, morosus, promotus ad illud officium patrocínio sacerdotum Societatis Jesu, quod illis in omnibus consentiret. Unde utrique, conjuncta opera, in privatis colloquiis, quæ ipsis semper patebant, sollicitantes regem adeo constrixerant, ut omnia consiliis eorum ageret, et aulicorum spes et curæ, non nisi ab eorum favore penderent, quem et in publicis negotiis, isti suggerebant, quid rex decerneret, tanto majori reipublicæ periculo, quod ad hujusmodi familiaritatem regis assumebantur personæ (præsertim confessor et concionator) a scholiis vel a magisterio novitiorum religiosorum, rerum et status politiæ prorsus expertes. Hæcque causa unica fuit errorum, non in domesticis solum, sed in publicis, ut Moschicis, Suecis, Livonicisque, regis rationibus, et tamen sacrilegii crimen reputabatur, si quis tamen eorum diota factave reprehendisset, et nemini qui non ipsis applauderet, facilis ad dignitates aditus patebat.*” (*Chronica Gestarum in Europa. Cracow, 1648 ad ann. 1616.*)

persecution, as well as every deviation from conduct strictly honourable. He bestowed his favours and the offices of state according to the merit of the individuals, and without any regard to their religious persuasion. His sincere efforts to arrest religious persecution were, however, unable to overcome the spirit of intolerance and bigotry which the Jesuits had widely diffused, particularly amongst the numerous class of the inferior nobles educated in their schools. Although he succeeded in repressing the mobriots against the Protestants, he was unable to prevent two great acts of legal persecution against the anti-Romanists, namely, the abolition of the Protestant church and college at Vilna in 1640, and that of the celebrated Socinian school of Racow, ordered by diets, on account of alleged insults offered by the pupils of those schools to statues of saints. Vladislav made great efforts to allay the irritation created amongst the population of the Ukraine or south-eastern provinces, by the attempts which had been made to force upon them the union. He confirmed the hierarchy elected by the adherents of the anti-union Church, which was much invigorated by the foundation of the celebrated academy of Kioff by Peter Mohila, a prelate of a superior character, high birth, and great learning.* The death of that mo-

* Peter Mohila was the son of a reigning prince of Moldavia, and nearly related to the first families of Poland. He studied at the university of Paris, and afterwards served with distinction in the Polish army during the

narch, who by his personal qualities kept down the evil passions of religious hatred conjured up by the reign of his infatuated father, let these again loose with the utmost violence. Vladislav was succeeded by his brother, John Casimir, who had been a Jesuit and a cardinal, but whom the Pope had relieved from his vows, on his election to the throne. A monarch with such precedents could not be expected to have the tolerant sentiments of his deceased brother, although he was by no means so bigoted as his father. Vladislav had scarcely closed his eyes when a terrible revolt of the Cossacks of the Ukraine broke out, and was joined by crowds of peasantry belonging to the Eastern Church. The country was quite unprepared for such a disaster, when the rebels, headed by Chmielnitzki, a Polish noble of the Greek religion, and a man of great talents and energy, were advancing with an irresistible force. The king, who marched against the rebels with a force inadequate to the emergency, was besieged by them in his fortified camp. His ruin seemed inevitable ; but Chmielnitzki and the principal

Turkish war of 1621. He entered the Church in 1628, and in 1633 was elected Archbishop of Kioff. He published several works, the most remarkable of which is his *Exposition of the Faith of the Eastern Church*, which had been approved of by all the patriarchs of the east. It was published in Polish and Polish-Russian, at Kioff, in 1637. It has been printed several times in Greek, and translated into Latin by the learned Swede Laurentius Normann, bishop of Gottenburg. It was also translated into German.

leaders of the Cossacks stopped on the brink of the precipice into which they were hurrying their country: the voice of patriotism made itself heard in their hearts, and silenced that of religious hatred and other evil passions. A pacification was arranged between the sovereign and his revolted subjects. Chmielnitzki, who had been besieging his monarch, paid him the homage of a faithful liege, demanded his pardon on his bent knee, and received from his majesty the nomination of Hetman (general) of the Cossacks, whose political and religious rights were confirmed on that occasion. One of the principal conditions of that pacification was, that the Archbishop of Kioff, metropolitan of the Greek Church of Poland, should have a seat in the senate. This condition, demanded by the Cossacks, was not only just,—for it was but right that the head of a Church followed by the population of whole provinces should have a seat in the senate, where every Roman Catholic bishop had a place,—but it was also very advantageous for the interests of the whole country that the spiritual chief of so formidable a body as the Cossacks should be a member of the supreme council of the state, since it could not fail greatly to assist in maintaining that warlike but unruly population in their allegiance to the Polish crown. Yet, notwithstanding the justice and expediency of this arrangement, it was frustrated by the arrogant bigotry of the Roman Catholic prelates, who, when the Greek Archbishop of Kioff, Sylvester Kossowski, whose patriotic ef-

forts had chiefly contributed to bring back the revolted Cossacks to their duty, arrived to take his seat in the senate, the above-mentioned prelates left its hall in a body, declaring that they would never sit with a schismatic. All the representations which were made to the bishops about the injustice of their conduct, and the dangers to which it exposed the country, remained fruitless ; and this insult, by which the patriotic services of the Archbishop of Kioff were repaid, produced a violent irritation amongst the Cossacks, which soon led to another revolt. The Cossacks being defeated, attached themselves to the Tzar of Muscovy, who with an immense force attacked Poland, which was at the same time invaded by Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden. This last-named monarch, taking advantage of the great discontent which prevailed in Poland against John Casimir, entered that country with a large force of chosen troops. He was joined by crowds of malcontents, and in a very short time occupied the principal part of the country. His high military talents, the strict discipline of his army, and his conciliating manners, soon won for him a great popularity amongst the Poles ; and as all rational patriots saw the necessity of having a monarch capable of defending the country from its external and internal enemies, they offered the crown to Charles Gustavus, demanding the convocation of a diet for his formal election. The choice of a Protestant monarch of such a character as Charles Gustavus would have

crushed at once the faction of the Jesuits, and established a strong government ; and, considering that Sweden then possessed in the north of Germany extensive provinces contiguous to Poland, and was a constitutional kingdom, there can be no doubt that the choice of its monarch to the Polish throne would have established in the north of Europe a powerful constitutional empire, which would have been more than a match for Austria, and would have prevented the tzars of Muscovy from making any progress towards the west. Unfortunately this combination was frustrated by the arrogant reply which Charles Gustavus, elated with success, gave to the Polish deputation sent to request him to convoke a diet for his election,—that “ he needed not such a formality, being already master of the country by his sword.” This insolent answer, by which he declared Poland a conquered country, deeply wounded the feelings of the nation. They abandoned the King of Sweden ; and his forces, attacked on all sides, were expelled from Poland. Peace was restored by the treaty of Oliva in 1660, concluded under the mediation and guarantee of England, France, and Holland. The Protestants suffered, during the wars which I have described, more than the rest of the inhabitants. In Great Poland they were persecuted for the excesses committed by the Swedes on Roman Catholics ;* whilst many of their churches, and

* The Swedish troops, who at the beginning had maintained a strict discipline, became guilty of great atroci-

several of the Socinians, were destroyed by the Cossacks, who made no difference between Roman Catholics and Protestants, regarding them all alike as the enemies of their Church.

John Casimir, who had fled to Silesia during the Swedish invasion, when recalled by the nation made a solemn declaration, committing himself and his kingdom to the especial care of the blessed Virgin, and vowing at the same time to remove the grievances of the lower orders, and to convert the heretics, which signified to persecute them. The first part of this vow, however Christian-like and praiseworthy, was not even attempted. Its fulfilment was therefore restricted to the reduction of the

ties, when the country rose against them, and they committed barbarous cruelties against several Roman Catholic clergymen. This was retaliated upon the Protestants. Many ministers and other individuals belonging to the Bohemian Confession were murdered, and their churches, including that of Lissa, with a celebrated school, were burnt. There is a curious manuscript in the archiepiscopal library of Lambeth, *Ultimus in Protestantis Confessionis Bohemice Ecclesias Antichristi furor*, written by Hartmann and Cyrill, Protestant clergymen, and professors of the school of Lissa, who call themselves "the exiles of Christ," and who were sent to Holland and Great Britain to ask succour for their distressed brethren, which was granted them with much liberality by the Protestants of these countries. It contains a description of the most revolting barbarities inflicted upon Protestants, without respect to age or sex ; and concludes with the words, *dolor vetat plura addere*. There was also a printed statement composed after this manuscript, which was submitted by the delegates to Cromwell, who authorized them, by an ordinance, dated 2d May 1659, to raise subscriptions throughout the country.

heretics. The number of Protestants was still considerable, and amongst them were several influential families. They were, moreover, supported by the interest of foreign princes of their persuasion, at that time allies of Poland. The Socinians were therefore regarded as the only fit objects for the fulfilment of the royal vow; and a Jesuit named Karwat urged the diet of 1658 to show its gratitude to God by deeds. This diet enacted a law, by which it was forbidden, under the severest penalties, to profess or propagate Socinianism in the Polish dominions; and those who did so, or in any way favoured that sect, were threatened with immediate punishment by death. There was granted, however, to those who should persevere in that belief, a term of three years for the sale of their property and the recovery of their dues. Perfect security was promised to them during that term; but the exercise of their religion was prohibited, and they were not allowed to take any part in the affairs of the country. This enactment was not based on political considerations, neither did it impute to the Socinians any act of treason, but was entirely founded on theological grounds, and chiefly on the fact that they did not admit the pre-eternity of Jesus Christ,—a rather odd reason in a country where Jews were tolerated, and Mahommedans received the rights of all other citizens. The term of three years, granted by the diet of 1658, was abridged to two by that of 1659, which decreed that on the 10th July 1660 all the Socinians who had not em-

braced Romanism should leave the country, under the penalties prescribed by the diet of 1658. By the same enactment those Socinians who might abjure their persuasion were forbidden to embrace any other confession than that of Rome, because many of them had become Protestants to avoid the severity of the law of 1658.

Owing to the shortness of time, the state of the country, ruined by war, and the greediness of purchasers, who took advantage of their unfortunate position, the Socinians were obliged to sell their properties for prices which bore no proportion to their real value. Meanwhile, persecution of every kind was heaped on them. They were regarded as outlaws ; and as every kind of religious exercise was disallowed to them, nothing was more easy than to find cause for persecuting them on that ground. The Socinians, in order to avoid this fate, made an attempt of such an extraordinary nature, that it is impossible to explain how they could have deluded themselves for a moment into a belief of its feasibility. They presented a petition to the king against the enactment of 1658, promising to prove that there was no fundamental difference between their tenets and the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church. This proposition was rejected. They sought protection, or at least intercession, from foreign powers ; but although the treaty of Oliva in 1660 secured to all the religious confessions of Poland the same rights which they had enjoyed before the war, and Sweden endeavoured to

secure those of the Socinians, it was of no avail; neither were the representations made in their favour by the Elector of Brandenburg of any service. Despair induced the Socinians to propose a reunion with the Roman Church, arranged by means of a friendly colloquy. This was authorized by the Bishop of Cracow, who might have reasonably expected that the Socinians were seeking an opportunity of entering the pale of his Church with some appearance of conviction, and not by mere compulsion. Indeed, it could not be supposed by any sensible person, that such clever controversialists as the Socinians were would flatter themselves with the hope of obtaining concessions from a Church whose doctrines were diametrically opposed to their own. Such, however, was not the case: the Socinians seriously maintained their arguments at the colloquium of Roznow (10th March 1660); and it is almost needless to add, that this affair produced no result whatever. Nothing, therefore, remained to them but to leave the country before the expiration of the appointed term,—a measure which was accompanied with great hardships, notwithstanding the attempts to alleviate their sufferings which were made by several eminent noblemen, who, although professed Romanists, were connected by ties of blood and friendship with many of the Socinians. They dispersed into different parts of Europe; a great part went to Hungary and Transylvania, having in the latter country many co-religionists. The Queen of Poland permitted

many of them to settle in the Silesian principalities of Oppeln and Ratibor, which belonged to her, and some princes of Silesia did the same. Being dispersed in several parts of that country, they did not form any congregation, and either gradually left it, or became converts to Protestantism. A considerable number of them established a congregation at Manheim, under the protection of the Palatine of the Rhine ; but they soon became suspected of propagating their doctrines, which, considering their known zeal in this respect, was probably the case, and were obliged to disperse. They withdrew for the most part into Holland, where they could enjoy full religious liberty, and where there were some Socinians, who, together with those of England and Germany, gave considerable sums for the support of their brethren banished from Poland. I have no information about their fortunes in that country ; but I am inclined to think that they had a large congregation, as they were able to publish at Amsterdam, in 1680, a New Testament in the Polish language. A number of Socinians retired to Prussia, where they met a hospitable reception from their countryman Prince Boguslav Radziwill,* the last Protestant of his family, who was governor of that province for the elector of

* Boguslav Radziwill died in 1669, leaving only one daughter, Louisa, who was married to a prince of Brandenburg, son of the great elector, and after his death, to a prince of Neuburg. She left by her second marriage one daughter, from whom the royal house of Bavaria is descended.

Brandenburg. They formed two settlements, called Rutow and Andreaswalde, near the frontiers of Poland. In 1779 the inhabitants of these places received from the government an authorization to build a church; but their congregation, which had never been considerable, gradually decreased, and, according to the official information which I obtained on that subject in 1838, through the kindness of the late Baron Bulow, Prussian minister at the British Court, that of Andreaswalde subsisted till 1803, when it was dissolved; and there were in Prussia at that time (1838) only two gentlemen, the last surviving members of the once celebrated Socinian sect,—a Morsztyn and a Schlichtyng, both very old men, and the representatives of names distinguished in the political and religious annals of Poland. The rest of that sect had become Protestants, as had also the families of the above-mentioned individuals. In Poland itself, since their expulsion in 1660, no vestige has existed of the sect which once reckoned amongst its followers some of the great families of the land, and which was celebrated over all Europe for the talents and learning of its members.

The ranks of the Protestants were now completely broken. They lost their principal supports in the powerful families of Radziwill and Leszczynski, the Protestant line of the former having become extinct in 1669, and the latter having passed to the Church of Rome. The Leszczynskis, however, on becoming Roman Catholic, did not turn persecutors of their an-

cient co-religionists, but, on the contrary, remained their kind patrons, sheltering, by their influence, the Protestant inhabitants of Lissa, —a town which belonged to them,—from the persecution of their enemies.

King John Sobieski was a man of a very enlightened mind, and strongly opposed to religious persecution ; but the limited royal authority was unable to maintain the laws, which still acknowledged a perfect equality of religious confessions ; and during his reign two disgraceful events marked the power which the Roman clergy had acquired in Poland, and the manner in which they were inclined to use it.

I have stated that the Protestant Church of Vilna was abolished in 1640, by the decree of a diet, which prohibited the Protestants from having a place of worship within the walls of the town. They therefore built a church, a hospital, and a house for their ministers, in a suburb. On the 2d April 1682, a numerous mob, led on by many students of the Jesuit College, attacked the above-mentioned church, razed it to the ground, ejected the dead bodies from their coffins, and, after having treated them with the greatest indignity, cut them into pieces, and burnt them. All the property on the premises was either pillaged or destroyed, as well as many important documents, which were deposited there as in a place of safety. The riot continued for two days, without any interruption from the authorities ; and the rector of the Jesuit College being called upon to interfere in a riot created by his students, not only re-

fused to do so, but commended their proceedings. The ministers were saved by a Roman Catholic nobleman called Puzyna, who arrived with a number of armed men, and conducted them to the convent of the Franciscan monks, who gave them shelter, and treated them with great kindness. John Sobieski having been informed of the outrage, immediately nominated a commission to investigate the affair, and to punish the criminals. This commission, composed of the Bishop of Vilna and several dignitaries of the state, after the most careful investigation condemned several rioters, students of the Jesuit's College, and others, to the penalty of death, and ordered the restoration of the pillaged property; but the Jesuits bribed the jailors, who let the guilty escape from prison, and only a very small portion of the stolen property could be got back. The king desired that the Jesuits should pay the damages caused by the rioters; but as he could not obtain this act of justice for his Protestant subjects, they rebuilt their church at their own expense.* The other crime which disgraced that period was the judicial murder of Casimir Lyszczyński, a respectable landowner, perpetrated by the clergy in spite of Sobieski's efforts to save that innocent victim of fanaticism.†

* The work of M. Lukaszewicz contains the whole of the judicial proceedings relating to this crime.

† This event is described by all the historians of John Sobieski, and is mentioned by Mosheim. Lyszczyński was perusing a book entitled *Theologia Naturalis*, by Henry

The Elector of Saxony, who was elected after the demise of John Sobieski in 1696, under the name of Augustus the Second, on

Aldsted, a Protestant divine; and finding that the arguments which the author employed to prove the existence of the Divinity were so confused that it was possible to deduce from them quite contrary consequences, he added on the margin the following words:—*Ergo non est Deus*,—evidently ridiculing the arguments of the author. This circumstance was found out by a debtor of Lyszczyński, called Brzoska, who denounced him as an atheist, delivering, as the evidence of his accusation, a copy of the work, with the above-mentioned annotation, to Witwicki, bishop of Posen, who took up the affair with the greatest keenness. He was zealously seconded by Zaluski, bishop of Kioff, a prelate known for his great learning, and not devoid of merit in other respects, which, however, proved no check against religious fanaticism.* The king, who was very far from countenancing such enormities, attempted to save Lyszczyński, by ordering that, being a Lithuanian, he should be judged at Vilna; but nothing could shelter the unfortunate man against the fanatical rage of the two bishops; and the great privilege of a Polish noble, that he could not be imprisoned before his condemnation, and which heretofore was sacredly observed even with great criminals, was violated. On the simple accusation of his debtor, supported by two bishops, the affair was brought before the diet of 1689, before which the clergy, but particularly Bishop Zaluski, accused Lyszczyński of having denied the existence of God, and uttered blasphemies against the holy virgin and the saints. The unfortunate victim, horrified by his perilous position, acknowledged all that was imputed to him, made a full recantation of what he might have said or written against the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, and declared his entire submission to its authority. This was, however, of no avail to him; and the diet, instigated by the blasphemous representations of the clergy, decreed

* This prelate must not be confounded with either of the prelates mentioned in note, p. 179.

his accession confirmed in the usual manner the rights and liberties of the anti-Romanists ; but a new condition was added to the *Pacta Conventa*, or the constitutional guarantees to which the kings swore at their election, that he should not grant them any senatorial or other important dignities and offices. Although that monarch was by no means a bigoted Roman Catholic, but rather indifferent about religious matters, having abandoned the Lutheran Confession for the sake of the crown of Poland, he permitted the bishops to do as they chose with the heretics, in order to gain them over to his political views. The accession of Stanislaus Leszczyński, who was elected in 1704, after the expulsion of Augustus by Charles the Twelfth, inspired the Protestants with the hope that they might yet peacefully enjoy all the rights which

that Lyszczyński should have his tongue pulled out, be beheaded, and then burnt. This atrocious sentence was executed ; and Zaluski himself gives a relation of what he considered an act of piety and justice. The king was horror-struck at this news, and exclaimed that the Inquisition could not do anything worse. Justice requires it to be added, that Pope Innocent the Eleventh, instead of approving, bitterly censured, this disgraceful affair. Atrocities similar to this which I have related have taken place in different parts of Europe ; and it was just about that time that not only men, but women and young girls, were murdered in Scotland, not for an alleged blasphemy against God, but for refusing to acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of James the Second. The remarkable part of this event is the effect of the Romanist re-action upon the country, as proved by the fact that the king was now unable to prevent an act of atrocious fanaticism, which a century before he would not have been permitted to commit.

the constitution of the country guaranteed to them, in common with the other citizens. These expectations were warranted by the enlightened mind of the newly-elected monarch, as well as by the influence of Charles the Twelfth, to whom he owed his crown. The treaty of alliance concluded between King Stanislaus and the Swedish monarch expressly guaranteed to the Protestants of Poland the full enjoyment of the rights and liberties secured to them by the laws of the country, abolishing all restrictions established in later times. The hopes of the Protestants, who were persecuted by the troops of Peter the Great, as partizans of Stanislaus Leszczynski, were overthrown with the fortune of Charles the Twelfth, at the battle of Pultava. Augustus the Second repossessed himself, with Peter's assistance, of the Polish throne, which Stanislaus was obliged to abdicate. Augustus, in order to restore completely his authority, which was partially disputed by some partizans of his adversary, introduced into Poland a large body of Saxon troops, who committed many excesses. A confederation of the inhabitants was formed under the presidency of Leduchowski, in 1715, and a war was carried on with the Saxon troops. At last Peter the Great offered his mediation between the king and the nation, and his ambassador brought about a treaty to that effect, which was concluded at Warsaw on the 3d November 1716. The chief negotiator of that treaty was Szaniawski, bishop of Cujavia, who owed his elevation to the influence of Peter the Great, and

was entirely devoted to him. This prelate succeeded by his intrigues in rendering great services to Russia and Rome, by sacrificing to them the interests of his own country. Under the pretence of economy, a more effectual organization, &c., the standing army of Poland was reduced, by a clause of that treaty, to a number entirely inadequate for the defence of an extensive country ; whilst the fourth article of the same treaty ordained, under the pretext of correcting the abuses which had crept into the country during the invasion of the Swedes, and by a false interpretation of some laws, that all the Protestant churches which had been built since 1632 should be demolished, and that the Protestants should not be permitted, except in places where they had churches previously to the above-mentioned times, to have any public or private meetings for the purpose of preaching or singing. A breach of this regulation was to be punished, for the first time by a fine, for the second by imprisonment, for the third by banishment. Foreign ministers were allowed to have divine service in their dwellings, but the natives who should assist at it were to be subjected to the above-mentioned penalties.

The policy of Russia was very remarkable on that occasion, for it accomplished at once two great objects ; it disarmed Poland, and provided a pretext for future interference in the affairs of that country, by creating a discontented party, sure to be oppressed at home, and therefore eager to look for a protector abroad. King Augustus the Second on that

occasion betrayed the interests of the country which had elected him for its monarch, in a manner that cannot be adequately stigmatized; and it is now proved that he entertained the project of partitioning Poland with Peter the Great.

Even before the conclusion of the treaty, the clergy began to promulgate the article in question, which they stuck on the doors of many churches, declaring it a law of the land. This produced not only great alarm amongst the Protestants, but general indignation amongst the better part of the Roman Catholics; and protests poured in from all sides against the measure. These protests were addressed to the marshal of the confederation, Leduchowski, by the first persons in the country, as, for instance, Prince Casimir Sapieha, palatine of Vilna, Prince Vladislav Sapieha, palatine of Brest, Prince Radziwill, chancellor of Lithuania, Prince Czartoryski, vice-chancellor of the same country, Stanislaw Potocki, commander of the Lithuanian army, Skorzewski, marshal of the confederation of Posen, &c., all of them bearing the most unqualified testimony to the patriotism of the Protestants, and to the services rendered by them to the country. But the most remarkable of these remonstrances (and one which I mention with a feeling of pride that there was in my country a Roman Catholic prelate who, at a time when the Jesuits entirely ruled the country, had the courage to raise his voice in behalf of the cause of justice and humanity) was that of Ancuta, bishop of Mis-

sionopolis, coadjutor of Vilna, and referendary of Lithuania. He addressed to Szaniawski a letter, giving a flattering testimony to the patriotism of the Protestants, and urging that no restrictions against them should be extended to Lithuania.

Leduchowski warmly espoused the cause of his Protestant fellow-citizens, and insisted that the rights granted to them by the laws of the country should be strictly maintained. Szaniawski returned a quibbling answer, which did not satisfy Leduchowski, who presented the project of an article confirming the rights granted to the Protestants by the law of 1573 (page 269), notwithstanding all ordinances or regulations to the contrary. Nothing could be more explicit than this project; but the honest and patriotic intentions of Leduchowski, which, if executed, would have averted many calamities from the country, were thwarted by the artful Bishop Szaniawski, who succeeded in substituting for Leduchowski's project the following explanation of the obnoxious article:—"We maintain all the old rights and privileges of the dissidents in religion, but all abuses shall be abolished."*

* Leduchowski was a gentleman of large fortune, but entirely free from ambition. He did not take any part in the struggle between Augustus the Second and Stanislaus Leszczyński; and, having refused the favours of both these monarchs, he always lived on his estates. Enjoying the highest confidence of his countrymen, he was elected to several public offices. Having no children, he made a will, by which he bequeathed his property to relatives, to churches, and to the poor. But when he saw the country

The country was wearied by the wars and disturbances to which it had been exposed for many years, and longed for peace at any price. The diet, therefore, convoked for the confirmation of the treaty between Augustus the Second and the nation lasted only seven hours, during which the above-mentioned treaty was read and signed; and on that account it has been nicknamed the dumb diet. The king gave a declaration to the Protestants, who petitioned him on the subject, that the rights secured to them by law were not invalidated by the treaty in question. This declaration, as well as the explanations given to Leduchowski, could not be of much service to the Protestants, because the word *abuses* gave the greatest latitude to Romanist persecution, as all religious transactions not belonging to their own church were considered by its zealous followers as so many abuses, that ought to be abolished.

in danger, his patriotism overcame his attachment to his relatives, and all his charitable and devotional intentions; he cancelled his will, and devoted all his fortune to the maintenance of the troops of the confederation. His patriotism was unalloyed by personal or political hatred; and he constantly opposed those who wished to dethrone the monarch, having himself no other object than to secure the liberty and peace of his country. (*Vide Rulhiere's Hist. de l'Anarchie de la Pologne*, tom. ii.) Such was the eminent patriot, the last who stood up for the rights of his fellow-citizens whose creed was not his own; and the religious feeling by which he was guided in the disposal of his property, when its sacrifice was not required by the wants of the country, sufficiently proves that he did not act on that occasion from principles of religious indifference, miscalled philosophical.

This first legal enactment against the religious liberty of the Protestants, surreptitiously obtained, did not touch their political rights; and yet at the diet of 1718 Piotrowski, a Protestant member, was prevented by the priestly faction from taking his seat, in spite of the remonstrances of the more enlightened members of the diet, although there was no law excluding Protestants from the legislature of the country. But the most flagrant act of persecution committed during the reign of Augustus the Second was the affair of Thorn, which produced a great sensation over the whole of Europe.

The town of Thorn, situated in Polish Prussia, and inhabited chiefly by a population of German origin, became Protestant in the sixteenth century. The citizens were always distinguished by their loyalty to the kings of Poland; and they valiantly defended their town against Charles the Twelfth, remaining firm in their allegiance to Augustus the Second. It was the invariable policy of the Jesuits to plant their establishments in the midst of anti-Romanist populations, in order to make proselytes from amongst them for their Church. Thus, after a long opposition to them by the inhabitants, they succeeded in establishing their college in that town, the Protestant inhabitants of which were exposed to continual annoyance from the pupils of the college, who were inspired, as elsewhere, with a fanatical hatred of the Protestants. The ministers were also continually harassed by the Jesuits.

It was natural that such proceedings should

produce violent irritation, and lead to collisions ; and, indeed, on the 16th July 1724, a fight took place, during a procession of the Jesuits, between their pupils and a number of Protestant boys. One of the former being arrested for his riotous conduct by the authorities of the city, his comrades seized a Protestant boy, ill treated him, and carried him as a prisoner into their college, the rector of which refused to liberate him on the demand of the authorities of the town. This produced a great excitement amongst the inhabitants ; and a large crowd assembled before the college, and liberated the Protestant boy, without, however, committing any excesses. As they were retiring, shots were fired at them from the college, which excited the crowd to such a degree, that it broke into the college, carried away the furniture, and burnt it. Order was, however, soon restored, and no lives were lost.

The Roman Catholic writers maintain that the people, having taken possession of the college, destroyed several images of the Saviour, of the Virgin, and of the saints, threw upon the ground the host, and offered various other insults to their religion ; but this allegation is denied by Protestants. It is, however, very likely that some images were destroyed by the populace.

This afforded the Jesuits an excellent opportunity for inflicting a new blow on the Protestants of Poland. They therefore immediately spread over all the country a printed account of what they gave out as a sacrilege, representing it to the nation as an insult offered to the Divine

majesty, calling out for exemplary vengeance on the Protestants of Thorn, and recommending that their churches and schools should be taken from them, and, together with the government of the city, be handed over to the Romanists. Their representation produced a strong impression on the public mind ; and the consequent excitement was so great, that at the elections, which were then proceeding, the constituencies enjoined their representatives not to enter upon the discharge of any duty until the offended majesty of God should be avenged. No kind of agitation, indeed, was omitted that could inspire a fanatical hatred against the Protestants of Thorn. Agents were employed for the purpose of circulating prints over all the country, representing the alleged sacrilege ; public fasts and prayers were ordered by the clergy ; and both the pulpit and the confessional were converted into powerful engines of agitation. There was also no lack of alleged miracles, as, for instance, that the broken images had emitted blood, &c.

A commission, composed of ecclesiastics and laymen, all Roman Catholics, was appointed by the king to investigate the affair. At the investigation, which was directed by the Jesuits, the evidence of witnesses presented by them only was admitted, whilst Protestant witnesses were rejected, on the alleged ground of their being accomplices in the crime. More than sixty persons were imprisoned ; and the affair was brought before the tribunal called the Assessorial Court, which was the supreme court of appeal for the towns. This tribunal, composed of the first

judicial officers of the state, would certainly have given a fair trial to the accused party ; but it was swamped by the addition of forty new members, chosen for the occasion under the influence of the Jesuits.

The advocate of Thorn contended that the commission, being exclusively composed of Roman Catholics, was illegal,—that the witnesses had not been confronted,—and that no defence of the accused persons had been admitted. His efforts, however, proved unavailing. The defence of Thorn was not received ; and a decree was pronounced on the sole evidence of the commission. This decree, to which was prefixed the blasphemous declaration that “ God had not received an adequate revenge,” condemned the president of the town council, Roesner, to be beheaded, and his property to be confiscated. The crime imputed to him was merely that he had not done his duty at the breaking out of the riot,—a charge which, even if proved, could be punished only by the loss of office. The vice-president of the town, and twelve burghers accused of having excited the riot, were condemned to the same penalty ; whilst several individuals were condemned to fines, imprisonment, and corporal punishment. The same decree ordained that half of the city council and of the town militia, with all its officers, should be Roman Catholics. The college of the Protestants was to be given to them, as well as the church of St Mary. The Protestants were permitted to have schools only beyond the walls of the city ; and they were prohibited from print-

ing anything without the approbation of the Roman Catholic bishop.

The diet confirmed this decree ; and both the president and vice-president of the town, who had been hitherto free, were arrested. Representations were addressed to the king from many places in favour of the condemned ; and the city council of Thorn petitioned for at least a respite in their behalf ; but all in vain. The Jesuits, on the contrary, succeeded in accelerating the term of the execution by a week.

There was, however, one circumstance which promised to prevent the execution of this atrocious sentence, and probably induced many members of the tribunal to sign it. It was the condition that the Jesuits should confirm by an oath the facts presented in the indictment,—a condition which the law absolutely required from the prosecuting party for the execution of such a sentence, and which, on this occasion, it seemed impossible to fulfil, on account of the sacred calling of that party, which, it was presumed, would restrain them from an asseveration equivalent to the signature of a death-warrant. The commission entrusted with the execution of the decree assembled on the 5th December 1724, in the town-hall of Thorn, and the accused and accusing parties were summoned to their presence. The last-named party was represented on the occasion by Pater Wolenski and other Jesuits. When the sentence was read, and the confirmatory oath required, Pater Wolenski answered with an assumed mildness, that, as a clergyman, he was

not thirsty of blood,—*Religiosum non sitire sanguinem*. But he made a sign to two other Jesuits, Piotrowski and Schubert, who bent their knees, and pronounced the required oath. Six laymen belonging to the lowest of the populace did the same, although the decree required that they should be of the same rank as the accused parties.*

The sentence was executed on the 7th December. The aged Roesner, a man universally respected, and who had given proofs of his patriotism by valiantly defending Thorn against the Swedes, was beheaded at an early hour, in the yard of the town-hall. He rejected the proposal of saving his life by the abjuration of his religion, and died with the constancy and resignation of a Christian martyr. He could have easily saved himself by flight, having been free during all the time of the trial; but he was conscious of his innocence, and, moreover, afraid by such a step of bringing fatal consequences on the town which he governed. He himself announced his condemnation, saying, "God grant that my death may give peace to the Church and to the town!" His body was buried with all the honours due to his station. The vice-president, Zernike, who, according to

* Strimesius, a Protestant author, says, that the papal nuncio in Poland, Santini, did not approve of the affair of Thorn, and forbade the Jesuits to take the oath required for the execution of the sentence. It is also said that the same nuncio had obtained a delay of the sentence, but that when it arrived at Thorn all was over, and that he sent an accusation against the Jesuits to Rome.

the sentence, was much more guilty than Roesner, was respited, and finally pardoned. The others condemned were executed, with the exception of one who embraced Romanism. The church taken from the Lutherans was consecrated next day; and the Jesuit Wieruszowski delivered on that occasion a sermon on First Maccabees, iv. 36, 48, 57, in which he apostrophised the commissioners who had put the sentence into execution, as men more like angels than human beings,—“*Ecce viri potius angelis quam hominibus simillimi!*”

The judicial murders of Thorn are the more painful to contemplate, that Poland had been free from such cruelties at a time when almost every part of Europe was inundated with blood on account of religious differences; and even at so early a period as 1556, when the influence of Lippomani caused the murder of some Jews and a poor Christian girl, which I have related (page 223), a general feeling of indignation was excited throughout the country. Yet in 1724 the Jesuits could raise a general cry for vengeance against the imaginary offenders of the Divinity. Far be it from me to excuse Poland on the ground that there is no country which has not disgraced itself by much greater enormities. What is wrong in itself can never be justified by the example of others. I however think, that a close and impartial investigation of that atrocious transaction will show that the blame of it was unjustly laid on the Polish nation, and that it should entirely rest with that anti-national faction which made the

nation a tool for the attainment of its objects. It is very easy for a strongly organized body, governed by one chief, extending its ramifications over all the country, and influential with all classes of society, to produce a general excitement on any subject whatever, but particularly on one connected with religion, and the more so if that body has at its command two such powerful engines for working on the minds of the people as the pulpit and the confessional. Was it therefore extraordinary that the employment of such means produced their natural effect on the mass of the nation, and that the voice of some few enlightened persons was silenced by the outcry of the multitude? I would ask every impartial and reflecting reader, whether it does not happen in every free country, that the opinion of the great majority, generally called public opinion, is sometimes so misled on subjects connected either with religion or politics, by the arts of agitation, that prudent persons, notwithstanding their intellectual superiority over the multitude, must either submit or give place to others who partake of or profit by its determination. Such was the case in Poland, when the agitation which the all-powerful society of the Jesuits had produced by means of misrepresentation directed the election of the members of the diet, and chose the commission for investigating the affair of Thorn.

These considerations could not, however, occur in the first moment of excitement caused by the news of that deplorable event, which un-

doubtedly did great injury to Poland in the opinion of all Europe. The Protestant monarchs and the states of Holland addressed remonstrances on the subject to the king of that country; and the English ambassador to the German diet, Mr Finch, delivered at Ratisbon, on the 7th February 1725, a most violent speech on the subject, threatening Poland with war if the wrongs of the Protestants were not redressed. These menaces only did harm to the Polish Protestants, by irritating the nation, and gave to their enemies additional facilities for persecuting them. Immediately after the affair of Thorn, Szaniawski, whose treasonable and treacherous proceedings against the safety of his country and the religious liberty of its citizens I have described in page 341, and who had become Bishop of Cracow, on the 10th January 1725 issued a pastoral letter, in which, after inviting the Protestants to enter the pale of his Church, he declared to those who would not obey his invitation, "that they ought to know that he was their pastor, as they had entered by baptism the doors of the Church, and were its disobedient children and subjects." He then proceeded, ordering "that the Protestants should observe the Roman Catholic feasts, and be subject to the Roman Catholic parish priests; that their marriages should be celebrated in Roman Catholic churches, and by the Roman Catholic clergy, according to the ordinances of the Council of Trent; and that marriages contracted before a Protestant minister or a civil magistrate

should be regarded as null and void ;” because the tribunal of the papal nuncio had declared, on the 25th October 1723, in a cause at Cracow, that “ the marriages of the anti-Romanists contracted before a heretic minister were null and void.”* Thus a papal nuncio and a Roman Catholic bishop prescribed laws in matters of religion to Protestants.

The Protestant powers of Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland, continued from time to time to make representations in favour of the Polish Protestants ; and the English minister at the Polish court, Mr Woodward, in 1731 presented a memorial to the king, enumerating the various oppressions to which the Protestants were exposed, requesting the abolition of those abuses, and the restoration of the Protestants to their rights, and concluding with a threat of retaliation on the Roman Catholics living in Protestant states. These remonstrances, however, instead of alleviating the persecutions of the Polish Protestants, served only to increase their severity ; and the threat of Mr Woodward to retaliate the wrongs of the Polish Protestants upon the Roman Catholics of the Protestant states, who were quite innocent of these wrongs, was not only unjust, but particularly inconsistent, coming, as it did, from the minister of a country where penal laws against the Roman Catholics were established. All this gave a great handle to the enemies of the Protestants

* *Lukaszewicz*, vol. i. p. 351, gives the whole of this pastoral letter.

in Poland, who represented these Protestants as living under the influence of foreign powers, and who succeeded in enacting a law in 1732, by which anti-Romanists were excluded from all public offices. To the honour of the nation, the legal persecution was not permitted to go farther ; and the same law declared the peace, the persons, and the property of the anti-Romanists inviolable, and that they might hold military rank, including that of general officers, and possess starosties or crown-lands.

The condition of the Protestants during the reign of Augustus the Third, from 1733 to 1764, was melancholy indeed, as is evident from the memorial which they addressed to his successor, King Stanislaus Poniatowski, and to the diet of 1766; in which they said, amongst other things, —“ Our churches have been partly taken from us, under various pretences, and are partly falling into ruins, as their reparation is prohibited, and a permission for doing it cannot be obtained without much difficulty and cost. Our youths are obliged to grow up in ignorance, and without the knowledge of God, as schools are forbidden to us in many places. Many difficulties are frequently opposed to the vocation of ministers to our churches ; and their visits to the sick and dying are exposed to much danger. We must dearly pay for permission to perform the rites of baptism, marriage, and burial, because the price for it is arbitrarily fixed by those who give this permission. The burying of our dead even at night is exposed to great danger ; and we are obliged, in order to

baptize children, to carry them out of the country. The *jus patronatus* in our estates is disputed to us ; and our churches are subject to the visitation of Roman Catholic bishops ; our church discipline, maintained according to the ancient order, is subject to great impediments. In many towns, people belonging to our Confession are compelled to follow Roman Catholic processions. The ecclesiastical laws, or *jura canonica*, are imposed upon us. Not only are children proceeding from mixed marriages obliged to be educated in the Roman Catholic religion, but children of a Protestant widow who marries a Roman Catholic are obliged to follow the religion of their step-father. We are called heretics, although the laws of the country accord to us the name of dissidents. Our oppression becomes the more grievous, as we have no patron either in the senate, or at the diets, the tribunals, or any jurisdiction whatever. Even at the elections we dare not appear without exposing ourselves to an evident danger ; and for some time we have been cruelly used, in opposition to the ancient laws of the country."

This gloomy picture of the universal oppression which weighed on the Protestants of Poland during the reign of the Saxon dynasty was relieved by one single exception, in a quarter where it could least have been expected. Providence sent them a kind friend and efficient protector in the person of Cardinal Lipski, bishop of Cracow. This noble-minded prelate preserved under the Roman purple the heart of a true Christian

and patriot; and he not only protected the Protestants in his diocese from the vexations of his clergy, and permitted them to repair their churches, but he made representations in their favour to the tribunals, and interceded for them to the king. It was probably owing to this enlightened prelate that the Protestants preserved their few remaining churches in the province of Little Poland, which was under his spiritual jurisdiction; whilst during the reign of the same dynasty they lost about half of those which they possessed in Great Poland and Lithuania.

The state of Poland at the close of the reign of the Saxon dynasty is described by the eminent Polish historian Lelevel, in the following words:—"From the beginning of the reign of John Casimir and the wars of the Cossacks, to the end of the Swedish war and the dumb diet, *i. e.* from 1648 to 1717,—a period of seventy years,—different kinds of disasters desolated the Polish soil and nation. These calamities caused the decline of Poland, whose limits were narrowed by the loss of many provinces, whilst its population was diminished by the emigration of the Cossacks, the Socinians, and a great number of Protestants, as well as by the exclusion from the rights of citizenship of the remaining dissidents. The nation was rendered weak by general impoverishment and distress; by the system of education, which was either conducted by Jesuits or entirely neglected; and finally, by the exhaustion consequent on the convulsive struggles which had agitated

the country during seventy years. Poland was plunged into a state of stupor : she lost during the reign of the Saxon dynasty all her energy, and remained inactive, scarcely giving any signs of life, save those that indicate paralysis. Accustomed to suffering and humiliation, she imagined herself to be happy ; imbued with false principles, she was satisfied to live in disorder, possessing still a considerable tract of land, and to preserve republican institutions, though surrounded by absolute powers, which increased even as she decreased.

“ Poland formed a republic ; but for a long time she had been dependent in all her actions on foreign tutelage. The two kings of the Saxon dynasty had no reluctance to subject her to the influence of Russia, and to keep her under the protectorate of Peter the Great, of Anna, and Elizabeth. The court of St Petersburg made continual protestations of the interest which it took in the safety of the monarch, as well as in the peace, welfare, and liberty of the republic. It gave frequent assurances that it would not regard with indifference any attempt at altering or injuring them ; and that, in order to prove its sincere friendship for the king and the republic, it would never suffer the formation of the smallest confederation, or any attempt at innovation directed against the sacred person of the king, or against the republic, its liberty and rights, by whomsoever, and under what pretence soever, they might be undertaken ; but that, on the contrary, it would

adopt the necessary measures for obviating similar cases.”*

Such was the melancholy condition to which Poland was reduced by the circumstances which the anti-Romanist re-action, conducted by the Jesuits, had brought about. A degrading dependence upon the Russian court constituted, indeed, the whole political system of Augustus the Third, and of his minister, Count Bruhl, who ruled in his name.

It was very natural that in this state of things many Poles should resort to the court of St Petersburg, as the surest means of obtaining favours at their own. It was still more natural that the Protestants, who were in such a state of oppression, should do the same ; and, indeed, nothing could be more easy for the Russian court than to redress, by its influence in Poland, the wrongs of the anti-Romanist inhabitants of that country, or at least to alleviate their sufferings, if it acted upon the declarations which it repeatedly made to maintain the peace, the rights, and the liberty of Poland,—declarations which could not but furnish an additional motive to those whose peace, rights, and liberty were violated, to claim the fulfilment of promises made in the most solemn manner by a power which was quite able to keep them. But the Russian court meant, by the maintenance of the rights and liberty of the Polish republic, nothing else than the maintenance of its defec-

* Lelevel's *History of the Reign of Stanislaus Poniatowski*.

tive constitution, with all the abuses which rendered the country powerless, and consequently unable to shake off its dependence upon Russia ; and the Protestants never received any alleviation of their wrongs from that quarter.

The Russian influence established in Poland during the reign of the Saxon dynasty placed on her throne Stanislaus Poniatowski, a lover of the Empress Catherine. The country was occupied by Russian troops ; and when Poniatowski, induced by his relatives the Princes Czartoryski,* endeavoured to make a show of inde-

* The family of the Princes Czartoryski, possessing immense wealth and influence, undertook to reform the vicious constitution of their country, by the establishment of a well-organized monarchy, which certainly was the only means of raising that country from the humiliating position into which it was plunged by its defective form of government. In order to attain this object, they had to struggle against inveterate prejudices and powerful parties ; and they resolved, as the best means for removing these obstacles, to enlighten the nation, whose intellect was darkened by that wretched system of public education of the Jesuits which I have described (p. 296). They promoted, by the utmost exertions, science and literature, and by every means created partizans throughout all the country. They elevated to a certain degree of consideration families of little note, and raised those who had been reduced by adverse circumstances ; and, having gained over Count Bruhl, minister of Augustus the Third, by rendering him some important services, they disposed, through his medium, of public charges, which they bestowed upon meritorious individuals. They sought out men of superior talents, and such as by their writings exercised an influence on public opinion ; and by their exertions they diffused a taste for science and literature amongst the nation. They were powerfully assisted in their noble efforts by Konarski, a Roman Catholic clergyman of the

pendence of the Russian court, the influence of that court, to which he owed his seat on the throne, repressed the attempt. It was under these circumstances that the Empress Catherine, who courted the adulations of Voltaire and other writers of his school, by whom she was extolled for her liberality, declared for the anti-Romanists, or, as they were officially called, dissidents, of Poland, and was joined by Frederic the Second of Prussia. The demands of these monarchs were proffered in such a dictatorial manner, that they offended the national pride of many who would not have opposed the claims of the dissidents on religious grounds. The influence of Russia caused these dissidents to form two confederations,—at Thorn in Polish Prussia, and at Slutzk in Lithuania,—for the re-

order of the *Patres Pii*, who established schools, in which the system of education was as much calculated to advance the intellect of the pupils, as that of the Jesuits was to arrest its progress. Having prepared the ground in this manner, they succeeded, at the diet of convocation (p. 269 note), assembled after the demise of Augustus the Third in 1764, in overcoming, by means of the Russian troops which had been sent to promote the election of their relative Poniatowski, the republican party, and in introducing several most salutary reforms into the constitution of their country, by which the executive power was strengthened, and the facility of dissolving diets by the *veto* of one member limited. The Russian government soon perceived, however, that this increase of the royal authority was contrary to its own influence. It therefore gave its support to the republican party, which abolished all the reforms introduced by the Czartoryskis, and which would have saved Poland from the partition of her territory, which took place a few years afterwards.

covery of their rights. These two confederations, composed of Protestants and of the Greek Bishop of Mohiloff, as there were no longer any nobles following the Greek Church in Poland, although a great number of its followers were found amongst the peasants, reckoned only five hundred and seventy-three members. Many Protestants loudly disapproved of such violent measures, declaring that the safety of the country was the first law, and that it was much better to suffer abuses, and to submit to the injustice of their own countrymen, than to expose the state to commotions dangerous to its independence.* They were, however, unable to retrace their steps, and a great number of them were unwillingly compelled by the Russian troops to join these confederations.

The limits of these sketches do not permit me to enter into an account of all the political intrigues with which the cause of the Protestants was mixed up from 1764 to 1767, and the details of which I have given in a separate work.† I shall therefore only state, that in 1767 the dissidents of Poland were re-admitted to equal rights with the Roman Catholics, after a long negotiation, in which not only the Russian ambassador and the Prussian minister,

* This is stated by Rulhiere, who is by no means partial to the Protestants. (*Vide* his *Histoire de l'Anarchie de la Pologne*, vol. ii. p. 352, edition of 1819.) And it is a well-known fact, that they bitterly regretted having become the tools of foreign influence.

† *History of the Reformation in Poland*, vol. ii. pp. 422-534.

but also those of England, Denmark, and Sweden, took a part.

This restoration of the Polish Protestants to their ancient rights by the interference of foreign powers was an event which every patriotic Protestant was much more inclined to deplore than to exult in ; and there can be no doubt that the same result would have been brought about a few years later by the rapid progress which the national intellect had made subsequently to that event, particularly since the abolition of the order of the Jesuits in 1773.* There cannot, I think, be a stronger proof of the extent of that progress, or of the generosity of the national character, than this important fact, that notwithstanding the justly odious circumstances under which the Protestants had been restored to their ancient rights, and that the foreign powers which had promoted their interests in such a zealous manner entirely abandoned them when the object was to exact from the nation a mock consent to the first spoliation of the Polish territory, there did not occur after that time a single act of persecution against them.

In concluding this narrative, I cannot help remarking, that although the means by which the Protestants obtained the restoration of their ancient rights were undoubtedly unjustifiable, and are deeply to be regretted, the charge

* The contemporary author Walsh, a zealous Protestant, is of the same opinion. (*Vide* his *Neuere Kirchen Geschichte*, vol. vii.)

which many have brought against them, of having been instrumental in abetting the views of Russia, by claiming her protection for the restoration of their rights, is perfectly absurd. Was it the fault of the Protestants that Russian influence placed Augustus the Third on the throne of Poland, at whose accession the political rights of these Protestants were abolished? Was it the fault of the Protestants that this very Augustus and his ministry kept Poland, during all his reign, in the most disgraceful subserviency to the court of St Petersburg? That he reduced the country to such a state of dependence on that court, that it placed on her throne his successor Poniatowski? Is there any justice in denouncing a small minority of oppressed citizens, for having sought redress from the same quarter whither many of their Roman Catholic countrymen resorted for the purpose of getting personal advantages, and whence others believed that the safety of their country was alone to be obtained? The Protestants were wrong in acting as they did : they ought to have defended their cause by all constitutional means, and rather suffered every kind of persecution than sought redress from abroad ; and they ought to have preserved themselves pure from that general contamination which disgraced so many of their Roman Catholic countrymen. This, however, would have been a heroism almost above weak human nature ; and it cannot be wondered at that, goaded by persecution, they committed the same fault as that of which a far greater number of their Roman Catholic coun-

trymen were guilty without having adequate ground of excuse, and of which a deplorable example was set by the court, which in some measure forced the whole nation into that disgraceful course. And yet the reliance of the Protestants on foreign protection was made a constant theme of reproach against them, and their claims were sincerely opposed by many on that ground. No one, however, who is acquainted with the history of mankind will wonder at this strange and inconsistent proceeding; for, unfortunately, everywhere, and at all times, the weaker has been made to bear the blame of the stronger.

Having now concluded a rapid sketch of the fortunes of the Reformation in Poland, I venture to offer a few general remarks on the subject. The rapid progress made in Poland by the doctrines of the Reformation was chiefly owing to the fact, that they had found the ground favourably prepared for their reception, as well by the doctrines of Huss as by the free institutions of the country; whilst the main cause which prevented their triumph, and brought about that of their adversaries, may be ascribed to the circumstance that these doctrines were propagated only by individual exertions, and not by the supreme authority of the country, which remained with the Roman Catholics. They were breaking up the established Church into fragmentary communities, but were not reforming it; and therefore were unable to establish a uniform system of national worship, which, as was the case in England and Scotland, would

have powerfully promoted its reception by the whole country. The vicinity of Germany, and the German element spread amongst the population of the towns, facilitated the diffusion of Lutheranism in that quarter; whilst the Bohemian Confession, favoured by the similarity of language and the sympathies of race between the Poles and Bohemians, made rapid progress in the province of Great Poland. At the same time, the Genevese Confession, supported by the strenuous efforts of Radziwill the Black (page 226), extended with wonderful rapidity over Lithuania, and made very great progress in southern Poland, where it was promoted by several influential families. The extraordinary success which the cause of the Reformation had obtained in Poland was, however, followed by a series of unfortunate events, which would have produced everywhere the same results as they did in that country. The success, as well as the reverses, of the Reformation, in all the countries into which it was introduced, was mainly decided by the influence of monarchs, or other individuals invested with power, who had promoted or resisted its progress. Thus, had the Reformation of Luther not been embraced by the Elector of Saxony and other German princes, and afterwards saved from the Roman Catholic re-action or the *interim* of Charles the Fifth, by Mauritius of Meissen, would it have been established in a great part of Germany so easily as it was? And had not the interference of Gustavus Adolphus arrested the progress of Ferdinand the Second, might not

Protestant Germany have shared the fate of Bohemia and Austria proper, where Protestantism was annihilated by that same Ferdinand? It was owing to the efforts of that glorious monarch of Sweden, Gustavus Vasa, that the Reformation was so rapidly established in his country; and the same thing took place in Denmark under Christian the Third. And would England have now been Protestant if Queen Mary had succeeded to the throne immediately after the death of her father, when an interval of six years, during which the reformation of the Church had been zealously promoted by such a great man as Cranmer, did not prevent that queen from finding a Parliament which proclaimed the abolition of all that had been done under the reign of her predecessor? And had the reign of that same queen been prolonged for twenty years, and succeeded by a Roman Catholic sovereign, who can say whether Protestantism would have been the dominant religion of Great Britain, or only the persuasion of a small minority of its inhabitants? On the other hand, had Francis the First embraced the cause of the Reformation, would not France have now been a Protestant country? And might not this salutary revolution have been brought about at a later period, if Henry the Fourth had been more firm in his religion?

The same causes which influenced the fortunes of the Reformation in different parts of Europe, produced the same effect in Poland. Had the days of two such powerful promoters of religious truth as Radziwill the Black and John

Laski been prolonged, it is very probable that their influence, particularly that of the former, would have decided the wavering mind of Sigismund Augustus to embrace that truth by which its triumph would have been at once achieved in Poland ; but, unfortunately for the cause of scriptural religion, and for that of Poland, their days were cut short at the very time when they were making the most strenuous efforts to establish a reformed national Church in their country, and when Protestantism stood in particular need of the assistance of such men, in order to withstand the attacks of such formidable champions of the Roman Church as Hosius and Commendoni. The seduction of Batory from Protestantism to Romanism was another blow to the Protestant cause in Poland ; and the reign of Sigismund the Third, who, during nearly half a century, incessantly laboured for the destruction of the anti-Romanist Confessions in his kingdom, produced in Poland the same effects which it would have brought about in any other country.

The Protestants themselves undoubtedly committed many lamentable errors, the principal of which were their divisions, caused by the jealousy and ill-will which the Lutherans bore to the Genevese and Bohemian Confessions. It was that unfortunate feeling which, after the demise of Sigismund Augustus, prevented the election of a Protestant to the throne of Poland (page 267) ; and the declamations against the two above-mentioned Confessions, made by several Lutheran divines, who openly

declared their preference of the Roman Church to these Confessions, could not but act most injuriously on the interests of all the Protestants. The Polish Lutherans are not, however, exclusively chargeable with the deplorable proceedings which I have related (page 267); for, unfortunately, the conduct of their brethren in Germany was no less blameable, and produced even more disastrous consequences, because, as I had an opportunity of relating (page 155), their miserable jealousy of the Reformed Confession dissolved the evangelical union, and brought about the destruction of Protestantism in Bohemia and Austria proper.

One of the great causes of the weakness of the Protestants in Poland was the defective organization of their Churches, which lacked a common centre. The Genevese and Bohemian Churches, which concluded a union in 1555, were at that time sufficiently numerous to stand a successful contest against their enemies, if they had established a central government, having a permanent action. This was, however, not the case; but each of the three provinces into which the country was politically divided,—Great Poland, Little Poland, and Lithuania,—had its separate ecclesiastical organization, entirely independent of each other; and they only occasionally united at general synods,—the great national convocation of the Polish Protestants. This was a serious defect, because long intervals always took place between the meetings of the general synods, which left unprotected the affairs of the Protestants, exposed,

meanwhile, to the unceasing persecution of the permanently established Roman Catholic authorities. In order to counteract their enemies, the Protestants should have established a kind of permanent committee, sitting in the capital of the country, unceasingly to watch over their interests. Unfortunately nothing of the kind was done ; and the few general synods which had met were, notwithstanding the great zeal of their members, never able to obtain the objects of their convocation ; and, indeed, it is almost without exception the case, that numerous meetings which occasionally assemble for some important object produce only a powerful excitement, followed by a corresponding recoil and lassitude, which renders nugatory all the good intentions which had been expressed at these meetings. This, I think, is the cause why the strongest resolutions passed at the Protestant assemblies of the above-mentioned kind prove but too often *vox, vox et præterea nihil* ; whilst the Roman Catholics, without making any public demonstration, quietly but steadily advance towards the accomplishment of their objects.

A great fault was also committed by the Polish anti-Romanists at the diet of 1573, which guaranteed to them religious and civil rights equal to those of the Roman Catholics. It was not sufficient, as experience proved, to exact a guarantee of their rights by the legislature of the country,—a guarantee which the Roman Catholic clergy at once declared invalid, by their refusal to subscribe to it, and which their

efforts soon rendered nugatory, and finally destroyed: the anti-Romanists ought not to have desisted until they had rendered their enemies innocuous, by depriving them of the means of injuring them, and reducing them to an equal footing with themselves,—that is, until they had excluded the bishops from the senate, and declared by the voice of the legislature that the Church of Rome was not the dominant Church of Poland, and thereby wrested from her the means of exercising that influence on temporal affairs which she possessed in preference to the anti-Romanist Confessions. Had the Roman Church been reduced to such a state, her antagonists would have had the advantage of opposing her on equal grounds, instead of being duped, as they were, into a peace, from its very nature delusive and impossible, with an enemy who, regarding them as rebels and usurpers, abstained from combating them only when prevented by the impossibility of doing so. The Protestants, at that time united with the followers of the Eastern Church, were sufficiently strong to accomplish that triumph which alone could give them security; and the public opinion in Poland was then such as to ensure them strong support, even from many Roman Catholics. But they despised their enemy, imagining that the public opinion of the country to which I have alluded would always remain the same; and therefore, instead of following a course which every sound principle of self-preservation ought to have dictated to them, they guaranteed all the existing rights and privileges of

that very Church whose bishops, with a single exception, refused to do the same thing in their favour (page 270).

The Protestants made continual efforts to strengthen their position, by improving their internal condition, by the establishment of schools, publication of the Bible and religious works, &c. ; but the re-action was so strong and rapid, and the attacks of their enemies so unceasing, that they had to cope with the greatest difficulties in this respect, particularly as their forces decreased in the same ratio as those of their adversaries increased. I have described in its proper place (page 273) the destructive effects of the anti-trinitarian doctrines on the cause of the Reformation in Poland.

I do not wish to extenuate in any way the faults with which the anti-Romanists of Poland had rendered themselves chargeable ; but I repeat my conviction, that the external circumstances which principally destroyed the cause of the Reformation in Poland would have produced the same effect in any other country. I have already expressed my opinion that the triumph of the Reformation in England would have been very doubtful if the reign of Queen Mary had lasted for a considerable time, and if, instead of having been succeeded by Elizabeth, she had left the throne to a Roman Catholic successor. Let me add, that James the Second,—a monarch who was not possessed of the arts and means of seduction which Sigismund the Third had at his command, but who

stood alone in his belief, against a Reformed Established Church with a Parliament and the great majority of the nation belonging to it, —notwithstanding all these difficulties of his position, succeeded, during his short reign, in seducing many individuals, who bartered their religion for the monarch's favour. And who can tell what would have been the consequences, if, instead of following the dictates of his bigotry and his despotical propensities, he had acted with that consummate skill which generally characterizes the proceedings of the Jesuits? But let me go one step farther, and admit a contingency which I hope never will take place, leaving, however, the decision of its possibility to the judgment of my readers. Supposing, then, that there was in Great Britain a faction,—Jesuit, or whatever may be its name,—having for its object to restore the dominion of the Church of Rome;—that this faction should prosecute its object with unabated perseverance and great skill, employing all possible means for the attainment of its end;—that it should condescend to the same means which were employed by the Jesuits to subject the Eastern Church of Poland to the dominion of Rome, namely, assume the garb of the ministers of that very Church which it was their object to subvert or to subdue, as is evident from the document which I have given in page 310;—that literature, the most powerful engine for promoting good or evil in a civilized country, should be turned by that same faction into an efficient tool, employing the greatest learning

and first-rate talents in order to mislead public opinion, and gain it over to their views by means of publications adapted to the highest and to the lowest degrees of mental cultivation,—by works of philosophy, poetry, history, as well as by novels, popular tracts, nay, even nursery books;—that all such works should have a more or less open, but always one and the same tendency,—to depreciate Protestantism and to extol Romanism; whilst the Protestants, either unwilling, from an imprudent contempt of their adversaries, or unable, from want of a proper organization, to make similar efforts in order to enlighten public opinion, should content themselves with heralding about the triumphs of their enemies, and uttering bitter complaints against their progress, instead of adopting efficient measures for counteracting their influence and arresting their progress; and that these efforts of the Romanist faction to which I have alluded should gain for them a strong party amongst the upper classes of the country, and thereby enlist to the assistance of their cause the powerful influence of rank, wealth, and fashion,—influence which is powerful everywhere, but particularly in this country, where the great disproportion between capital and labour establishes a much stronger dependence of the employed on the employer, of the tradesman on the customer, than that which existed between the various grades of feudal society, and where often the most decided radical in politics submits to the prestige of rank and fashion, against the seductions of

which even many seriously disposed persons are not always entirely proof;—were all the agencies which I have here enumerated, as well as many others which it is superfluous to mention, once brought to bear upon the Protestantism of this country, with the same force as they were, *mutatis mutandis*, in Poland, who may foretell their results.

With regard to the present condition of Protestantism in Poland, it is by no means such as the friends of the Reformation would desire. Szafarik, in his Slavonic ethnography, computes the number of Protestant Poles in round numbers at four hundred and forty-two thousand, the great majority of whom are in Prussia proper and Silesia. There is a considerable number of Protestants in Poland, but they are German settlers, of whom many, however, have become Polonized, and are Poles in feeling. According to the statistical account published in 1845, there were in the kingdom of Poland, *i.e.* that part of the Polish territory which was annexed to Russia by the treaty of Vienna, in a population of four millions eight hundred and fifty-seven thousand two hundred and fifty, two hundred and fifty-two thousand and nine Lutherans, three thousand seven hundred and ninety Reformed, and five hundred and forty-six Moravians. I have no statistical data regarding the Protestant population in other Polish provinces under the Russian dominion. I can therefore only say, from personal knowledge, that about twenty years ago there were between twenty and thirty churches of the Genevese Con-

fession. Their congregations, consisting principally of the gentry, are far from being numerous, with the exception of two, whose congregations, composed of peasantry, amount to about three or four thousand souls. There were two schools belonging to this same Confession,—Slutzk and Kieydany. The latter was abolished by the Government in 1820, on account of a silly manifestation of political feeling made by two or three of the pupils : the former is still in existence. The clergy derive their support chiefly from landed property belonging to their churches. In Prussian Poland there were, according to the census of 1846, in the provinces of Western Prussia, or ancient Polish Prussia, in a population of one million nineteen thousand one hundred and five, five hundred and two thousand one hundred and forty-eight Protestants ; and in that of Posen, in a population of one million three hundred and sixty-four thousand three hundred and ninety-nine, there were four hundred and sixteen thousand six hundred and forty-eight Protestants. Amongst these Protestants there are Poles, but unfortunately their number, instead of increasing, daily decreases, owing to the efforts of the Government to Germanize, by all means, its Slavonic subjects. The worship in almost all the Protestant churches is German ; and the service in Polish, instead of being encouraged, is discouraged. The continual efforts of the Prussian Government to Germanize the Slavonic population of its Polish province gave to Romanism in that province the great advantage of being considered, and

not without justice, the bulwark of the Polish nationality, and inflicted a great injury upon Protestantism. The bulk of the population call Protestantism the German religion, and consider the Church of Rome as the national one. Owing to this cause, many patriots who would have been otherwise much more inclined to Protestantism than to the Church of Rome, have rallied under the banner of the latter, as the only means of preserving their nationality from the encroachment of Germanism. It is on this account that the German press accuses the Poles of Posen of being bigoted Romanists, and under the dominion of the priesthood. This I may emphatically deny. The Polish League, or the National Association of Prussian Poland, formed for the preservation of its nationality by legal and constitutional means, but particularly by the promotion of education, the national language, and literature, and which comprehends almost every respectable Pole of that province, has for its honorary president the Archbishop of Posen, whilst the chairman of its directing committee is a Protestant nobleman, Count Gustavus Potworowski. The author of the present essay has given, as he hopes, undoubted proofs of his strong Protestant opinions, in his *History of the Reformation in Poland*,—a work which, particularly in its German translation, has been widely circulated over his own country; and he is proud to say that, far from injuring him in the opinion of his countrymen, full justice has been rendered to the sincerity of his convictions, even by those who are dia-

metrically opposed to his religious views ; as a proof of which he may adduce the fact, that the national association to which he has alluded has done him the honour of appointing him their correspondent. The strongest evidence, however, of the complete absence of religious fanaticism amongst the Roman Catholic Poles, and of their readiness to acknowledge the merits of their Protestant countrymen, is the esteem in which they held the lamented John Cassius, Protestant minister of Orzeszkowo, a place not far from Posen, whose death, at the beginning of this year (1849) is a severe loss to the cause of his religion and of his country. I therefore hope that a few particulars about this distinguished individual will not be uninteresting to my readers.

John Cassius was descended from an old family, belonging to the Bohemian Brethren, which settled in Poland during the persecutions which that truly Christian community had suffered in their own country (page 133), and which produced in the land of its adoption several ministers distinguished by their piety and learning. He fully inherited those eminent qualities of his ancestors which gave an additional grace to the ardent patriotism which animated his heart and directed his actions. He united for some time with the duties of a minister of religion, the office of a professor of classics at the High School of Posen, where his talents, and his zeal to form the pupils into useful citizens, gave general satisfaction, and gained for him the universal esteem of his countrymen.

The Government, however, not approving of his national tendencies, dismissed him, in 1827, from his office, as a *persona ingrata* to the authorities, offering him, at the same time, a much more advantageous situation in Pomerania. Cassius rejected this proposal, which was calculated to withdraw him from a circle of activity useful to his country, notwithstanding that he had no other means of maintaining his numerous family than a very moderate income, attached to his ministerial function. This sacrifice was, however, richly compensated by the universal esteem of his countrymen; so that there was no public affair of importance with which he was not connected; and the zeal, talents, and singleness of purpose which he displayed on many occasions, whenever an opportunity was afforded him of rendering a service to his countrymen in their public or private affairs, won for him, though but a single Protestant minister, an influence amongst men of all religious denominations, which few if any of the high dignitaries of the Established Church possessed. His countrymen were not unmindful of his services, and care was taken that his children should receive the very best education. The misfortunes which again last year (1848) befel his native land broke his patriotic heart, and his death was lamented as a national calamity. The principal citizens of the province, including the highest dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church, assisted at the funeral of the Christian patriot, and went into mourning to honour his memory. His family is provided for; and a sub-

scription has been raised to erect a monument in order to commemorate his services, and the gratitude of his countrymen.

The example of the late Cassius proves what advantages Protestantism might have obtained in Prussian Poland, and in other Slavonic countries, had it been there promoted by the same means by which it once made such rapid progress in these countries, and which have greatly promoted its success everywhere, *i. e.* nationality, which a pure form of Christianity develops, elevates, and sanctifies, by rendering it instrumental in carrying out the great ends of religion ; for it is only an erroneous Church, or a guilty system, which degrades religion into a tool for political objects, that will attempt to destroy the feelings of nationality, sacred to every people which has not sunk into that state of moral and mental degradation which leads it to consider physical welfare as the only object to be striven for.

I must now apologize to my readers for having so long dwelt upon the religious history of my own country, which is so intimately connected with its political events ; and I shall now proceed to my concluding lecture, in which I shall endeavour to delineate the religious state of the great Slavonic empire, which is already exercising a powerful influence, not only on the nations belonging to the Slavonic race, but on the affairs of Europe in general, and even on those of Asia.

LECTURE FIFTH.

RUSSIA : TURKISH SLAVONIANS.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

THE ecclesiastical history of Russia does not, like that of Bohemia and Poland, exhibit those physical and moral struggles between religious parties, whose forces were so equally balanced as to render the issue of the contest for a time doubtful. The Eastern Church, established in Russia since the conversion of that country to Christianity, had no rival to contend with; and it has only been, and is now, disturbed by its dissenting sects.

The name of Russia, which, since the time of Peter the Great, has been substituted for that of Muscovy, is applied to a vast tract of land, the whole of which is not even now under the dominion of the Emperor of Russia. It originated in the ninth century, when a band of those Scandinavian adventurers who are known in the Byzantine history under the name of

Varingians,* and who had the peculiar surname of Russes, founded, under a chief called Ruric, a state in the vicinity of the Baltic Sea, by establishing their dominion over several Slavonic and Finnish tribes. This new state, of which the capital was Novgorod, took, from the name of its founders, the appellation of Russia, in the same manner as the province of Neustria assumed the name of Normandy, from the Northmen, Gallia that of France, from the Franks, &c.

A remarkable event took place during the reign of Ruric, which, by bringing the Scandinavian conquerors into closer contact with Greece, promoted the spread of Christianity in the countries under their dominion. Two Scandinavian chieftains, called Oskold and Dir, who had arrived with Ruric from their common country, undertook an expedition to Constantinople, by descending the course of the Dnieper. It is probable that their object was simply to enter the imperial service, as was frequently done by their countrymen ; but having seized, on their way, the town of Kioff, they established there a dominion of their own. Having increased their forces by fresh arrivals of their countrymen, and pro-

* The Varingians or Varegues were Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon adventurers, who served as body-guards to the Emperors of Constantinople. There have been many origins assigned to the name Russes or Russians, but the most probable of them is, that it was derived from *Ruots* or *Ruts*, the Finnish name for Sweden, and that the Slavonians adopted it from the Fins, who had lived between them and Sweden.

bably by the natives of the country, they made a piratical expedition in 866 to the shores of the Thracian Bosphorus. They committed great ravages, and even laid siege to Constantinople, where the name of the Russians (Ρωσς) was then heard for the first time. A storm, ascribed by the Greeks to a miracle, scattered and partly destroyed the piratical fleet; and the Byzantine writers who describe the event add, that the Russians, terrified by the miracle, demanded baptism; and an encyclical letter of the Patriarch Photius, issued at the close of 866, corroborates this statement. Be that as it may, there are many traces of Christianity having begun about that time to spread amongst the Slavonians of the Dnieper and their Scandinavian conquerors. This was greatly facilitated by the commercial intercourse which existed between these Slavonians and the Greek colonies on the northern shores of the Baltic Sea, whence traders probably visited Kioff and other Slavonic countries. The dominion of the Khazars, friends to the Greek emperors, and which had been established over those parts previously to the arrival of the Scandinavians, could not but be favourable to these relations.*

* The Khazars, an Asiatic nation which inhabited the western shores of the Caspian Sea, are mentioned by the Byzantine writers for the first time in 626, when the Emperor Heraclius concluded an alliance with their monarch, who joined him with a considerable force against Persia, in that memorable war by which Heraclius completely overcame the Persians. Since that time the Khazars remained faithful allies of Constantinople; and the emperors

Ruric died in 879, and was succeeded by Oleg, as guardian to his infant son Igor. Oleg proceeded in 882 towards the south with a large force, composed of Scandinavians, as well as natives of the new empire; subjugated all the country along the Dnieper; and, having established his capital at Kioff, extended his conquest over many Slavonic lands, which, being now united with the empire founded by Ruric, equally assumed the name of Russia. Oleg in 906 undertook an expedition against Constantinople, besieged it, and compelled the emperor to pay him a large contribution. He then concluded a treaty of peace and commerce, which was revived in 911, and the details of which, preserved by Nestor (page 36), present an interesting picture of the intercourse which existed at that time between Greece and the

spared no exertions to maintain the fidelity of those valuable allies. The Khazars occupied all the countries situated between the banks of the Volga, the Sea of Azof, and the Crimea, extending their conquest northward to the banks of the river Occa. Their capital, called Balanghiar, was situated about the present Astrakhan, and they possessed many other towns, enjoying a great commerce, and many refinements of the Byzantine civilization. The most remarkable circumstance relating to that nation is, however, that about the middle of the eighth century their monarchs embraced the Jewish religion, but were a century afterwards converted to Christianity by the same Cyrillus and Methodius who became afterwards the apostles of the Slavonians (page 37). The empire of the Khazars, which was weakened by the continual attacks of the Mahomedans, and other unfortunate circumstances, was finally destroyed in 1016 by its ancient allies the Greeks.

subjects of Oleg. His successor, Igor, after having remained for a considerable time at peace with the Greeks, made an expedition in 941 into Asia Minor, where he committed great ravages. He was defeated by the Greeks, and peace was restored in 945, by renewing the treaty of Oleg with some modifications.

The constant intercourse between the Greeks and the new Russian empire spread Christianity amongst the inhabitants of the latter to a considerable extent. Olga, widow of Igor, and who ruled his empire during the minority of her son Sviatoslav, went, in 955, to Constantinople, where she was baptized with great solemnity; but her example was not followed either by her son or by any considerable number of his subjects. Sviatoslav was a most warlike prince, who extended his conquests to the foot of the Caucasian Mountains. Being invited by the Greek emperor Nicephorus, he made an expedition into Bulgaria, and, having conquered that country, resolved to fix his residence there. This involved him in a war with Greece, during which he penetrated to Adrianople. It was therefore not for the first time that in 1829 the Russians paid that city a visit. Sviatoslav was, however, defeated by the Greek emperor, John Tzimizches, and obliged to resign all his conquests by a treaty of peace. He was killed on his return to Kioff, and succeeded, after a domestic war between his sons, by one of them, Vladimir, who received baptism in 986, married a Greek princess, and introduced

Christianity into his dominions, having ordered the idols and their fanes to be destroyed, and his subjects to receive baptism.

The empire of Vladimir, which became known under the name of Russia, extended from the vicinity of the Baltic to the Black Sea, and from the banks of the Volga and the foot of the Caucasian Mountains to the Carpathian ridge and the rivers San and Bug. It was composed of different Slavonic populations, and in the north, of several Finnish tribes, all of whom, though comprehended under the general name of Russians, greatly differed amongst themselves, and were kept together, not by any regular system of government, but by the common bond of one sovereign, whose authority consisted merely in the levying of a certain tribute, which generally was paid by them when the sovereign or his delegates were able to exact it.

The constant intercourse between Constantinople and Kioff greatly facilitated not only the establishment of Christianity in the last-named capital, but also the introduction of the Byzantine civilization, arts, and refinement, which had probably begun to be imported from Greece even before the establishment of the Christian religion. The German annalist Dittmar, of Merseburg, to whom an account of Kioff was communicated by some of his countrymen who had been there with the expedition of Boleslav the First, king of Poland, in 1018, calls that town, on account of the great number of churches, market-places, public edifices,

and the quantity of riches which it contained, the rival of Constantinople, adding, that a great number of Greeks were settled there. Vladimir died in 1015, and divided his empire amongst his numerous sons, who were to hold their states under the suzerainty of the eldest, residing at Kioff, and enjoying the title of the Grand Duke of Russia.

This arrangement produced considerable disturbance, until one of his sons, Yaroslav, reunited under his sceptre the paternal dominions. Yaroslav was a great monarch, and powerfully promoted the Christianization and civilization of his empire. He built many churches and convents by Byzantine architects, founded new towns, established schools, attracted to his dominions Greek clergymen, scholars, and artists, and caused the translation of many works from the Greek into the Slavonic. His zeal for the Christian religion did not, however, prevent him from following up the attempts of his pagan ancestors against Constantinople. Under the pretence of ill-usage which some of his subjects had received in the imperial city, he declared war against the Emperor Constantine Monomachos, and in 1043 sent a large force, which marched along the shores of the Black Sea, and was supported by a numerous fleet. The Russian fleet reached the mouth of the Bosphorus, where, after a long-contested battle, it was partly burnt by the Greek fire, and its remainder compelled to retire. The land expedition reached Varna, but, deprived of the support of the fleet, it was, after a desperate

resistance, overcome by the Greeks, and either destroyed or taken prisoners.*

This was the last expedition which the Russians made against the Greek empire. Russia, torn by internal commotions, in consequence of her territory being divided amongst the successors of Yaroslav, lost all power for external action, and ended by becoming herself the prey of foreigners. If it were not for that circumstance, it is probable that the prediction which was found in the eleventh century inscribed under the statue of Bellerophon, at Constantinople, that the imperial city was to be taken by the Russians,—“ a rare prediction,” as Gibbon says, “ of which the style is unambiguous, and the date unquestionable,”†—would have been centuries ago fulfilled. It is, however, far from improbable that we shall see the legendary doom of the beautiful metropolis of the east accomplished in our own days.

Yaroslav divided his empire amongst his sons, leaving the title of the grand duke, and the supremacy over the other princes, to the eldest. This supreme authority was inherited, according to the custom of all the Slavonic countries, not by the order of primogeniture, but by that of seniority, *i. e.* that the deceased grand duke was succeeded by the eldest member of his dynasty. This arrangement could not but lead

* It is remarkable that the Russian campaign of 1828 and 1829 was conducted on exactly the same plan as that followed by Yaroslav's expedition in 1043.

† Gibbon, chap. lv.

to constant troubles, particularly as the different principalities were continually subdivided amongst the sons of the deceased sovereign. Russia became thus divided amongst a great number of petty princes, warring between themselves, and exposed to continual invasions of their foreign neighbours. The authority of the Grand Dukes of Kioff sunk, under these circumstances, into complete insignificance; whilst two powerful principalities, founded by the talents of their rulers, arose in the south and in the north-east. The first of them was that of Halich, comprehending the eastern part of the present Austrian province of Galicia, and a part of the Russian governments of Volhynia and Podolia; the second of them was the principality of Vladimir, on the Klasma, comprehending the Russian government of that name, with some adjacent provinces, and whose sovereigns assumed the title of Grand Duke. There were also three republics, governed by entirely popular forms,—Novgorod, Pleskow, and Viatka,—a community formed by emigrants from Novgorod, in the place which now bears that name.

Thus Russia was divided into different states, frequently at war amongst themselves, inhabited by populations differing from one another as much as they differed from the Poles, Bohemians, and other Slavonic nations, having only a common name and the same dynasty, to which all the numerous sovereigns of that country equally belonged. The only real bond of union amongst all these states was the

same Church, governed by the Archbishop of Kioff, its metropolitan.

Such was the state of Russia when the Mongols, commanded by Batoo Khan, grandson of Genghis Khan, invaded that country in 1238, 1239, and 1240, committing the most horrible devastations. They extended their ravages over Hungary and Poland, and advanced as far as Liegnitz, in Silesia, where, having defeated a Christian army, they might easily have penetrated to the Rhine ; but, fortunately for Europe, some events in Central Asia recalled them to the shores of the Caspian Sea.

Batoo Khan fixed his camp on the banks of the Volga, and summoned the princes of Russia to pay him homage, threatening them with renewed devastation in case of refusal. Nothing remained but to obey ; and the Grand Duke of Vladimir paid homage to Batoo in his camp on the Volga, and afterwards to the Grand Khan Kooblay, near the great wall of China. His successors received the investiture from the descendants of Batoo, who became independent under the name of the Khans of Kipchak.

About the beginning of the fourteenth century, the petty Prince of Moscow, having ingratiated himself with the khan, obtained from him the hereditary dignity of Grand Duke, to which an authority over the other princes of Russia was attached, and which hitherto had not been exclusively vested in one of their branches. His successors endeavoured, as an invariable line of policy, to court by all possible means the favour of their suzerain the khan,

by whose assistance they continually increased their power at the expense of other princes of Russia. Thus the power of the grand dukes of Moscow gradually increased, whilst that of the khan was at the same time declining by internal commotions, until the former became so strong as to shake off the dominion of the latter, towards the end of the fifteenth century.

Such was the origin of Moscow, the nucleus of the present Russian empire, formed from the north-eastern principalities of ancient Russia. I have related in my preceding lecture how the southern and western principalities of Russia became united in the fourteenth century with Poland and Lithuania.

The first archbishop of Kioff was consecrated about 900 by the patriarch of Constantinople, and constituted metropolitan of all the Russian churches. From that time the metropolitans of Russia were consecrated at Constantinople, and frequently chosen from amongst the Greeks. After the capture of Constantinople by the Latins, when the seat of the emperor, as well as that of the patriarch, was transferred to Nicea, the archbishops of Kioff were consecrated in that city, until the ancient order of things was restored by the expulsion of the Latins.

The chronicles mention several attempts made by the Popes to subject the Russian Church to their supremacy, but without obtaining the desired result. One circumstance, however, seems to imply that Rome had succeeded in gaining a temporary influence at Kioff towards

the end of the eleventh century, as Ephraim, a Greek, who was metropolitan of that city from 1070 to 1096, introduced into the Russian calendar, under the 9th May, the commemoration of the translation of the relics of St Nicholas from Lycia to Bari in Italy,—a feast which is unknown to the Greek Church, but observed by that of Rome. The principality of Halich (page 303), situated between the Roman Catholic countries of Poland and Hungary, was particularly the object of the papal efforts to subject its Church to the supremacy of Rome. The Hungarians having occupied that principality in 1214, tried to establish the above-mentioned supremacy over its Church, but their expulsion from the country destroyed all hopes of that connection. Daniel, prince of Halich, a distinguished warrior and politician, thought that he might derive from the Pope some assistance against the Mongols, and with that view opened a negotiation with Innocent the Fourth, who sent a legate to receive the submission of Daniel and that of the Church of Halich, to which he promised permission to retain all such customs and observances as were not in direct opposition to the Church of Rome. Daniel was crowned by the legate, in 1254, king of Halich, and acknowledged the supremacy of Rome; but as the promised assistance did not come, he broke off his connection with Rome. Halich was united with Poland in 1340; and the history of its Church has been treated in its proper quarter.

I have already narrated the invasion of the Mongols, and the terrible ravages which they committed in that country. An immense number of churches and convents were destroyed on that occasion, and many of the clergy were murdered or led into captivity; but as soon as these Asiatics had finally established their dominion over the north-eastern principalities of Russia, they endeavoured to strengthen it by gaining over to their interest the clergy of the subjugated country. In consequence of this policy, the Khan of the Mongols declared that all individuals connected with the church establishment should be omitted from the rolls on which the population was registered for the capitation tax in the years 1254 and 1255; and in 1257 the same khan, by his *yerlik* or letters patent, granted to the Russian clergy, and all persons connected with the churches, as well as their families, complete exemption for persons and property from all taxes and services paid or rendered to him by the inhabitants of Russia. A Russian bishop was always resident at Saray, the capital of the khans, by whom these prelates were sometimes employed in offices of high trust. Thus the Bishop Theognost was sent in 1279, by the Khan Mengutemir, to the Greek emperor Michael Paleologos. This favourable position of the Russian Church increased its wealth and influence. Many persons sought refuge from the universal oppression of their barbarous masters by entering the Church; while many others, in order

to secure the possession of their estates, made grants of them to the Church, receiving them back from it as tenants.

Kioff was destroyed by the Mongols in 1240 ; but the authority of the khans was never so firmly established in the western as it was in the eastern principalities of Russia, and the former were exposed to continual disturbances. This induced the metropolitan of Kioff to transfer his residence, in 1299, to Vladimir on the Klasma, the capital of the grand dukes of Russia, chief vassals of the khan, under whose protection the head of the Russian Church enjoyed perfect security.

I have related in the preceding lecture (page 305), the union of Kioff with Lithuania, and the fortunes of the Eastern Church in that country. The metropolitans of Vladimir, who afterwards transferred their seat to Moscow, endeavoured to maintain their jurisdiction over the Churches of Lithuania, and occasionally went for that purpose to reside in that country ; but, notwithstanding all their efforts, this connection was completely severed by the election of an Archbishop of Kioff in 1415. This excited a strong hostility between the two Churches, as an instance of which, I may instance the fact that the Khan of Crimea having, in 1484, pillaged Kioff, at the instigation of the Grand Duke of Moscow, sent him as a present a part of the church plate robbed on that occasion. The metropolitans of Moscow were either consecrated by the patriarchs of Constantinople, or simply approved by them. The

metropolitan Isidore, a learned Greek, went in 1438 to assist at the Council of Florence, where he subscribed to the union with Rome concluded on that occasion between the Greek emperor John Paleologos and Pope Eugene the Fourth. He returned to Moscow in 1439, with the dignity of a cardinal, and invested with the authority of a legate; but he was deposed and imprisoned in a convent, whence, however, he escaped, and died at Rome at an advanced age. After the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, the metropolitans of Moscow were elected and consecrated without any reference to the Greek patriarchs. In 1551, a general synod held at Moscow enacted a code of ecclesiastical laws called *Stoglav*, i. e. the hundred chapters.

In 1588 the patriarch of Constantinople, Jeremiah, came to Moscow, in order to get pecuniary assistance for his churches. The assistance was liberally granted by the devout Tzar Fedor Ivanovich, and Jeremiah consecrated the metropolitan of Moscow as patriarch of Russia. These patriarchs enjoyed great influence, not only in ecclesiastical, but also in temporal affairs, and their consideration was increased by the public marks of respect shown them by the Tzars, who on every Palm Sunday led by the bridle the ass on which the patriarch rode through the streets of Moscow in commemoration of Christ's entrance into Jerusalem. In 1682 the Slavono-Greco Latin Academy was founded by the Tzar Fedor Alexeyewich at Moscow; and this learned establishment was

furnished with professors, chiefly from the academy of Kioft (page 326), which had been wrested from Poland under the preceding reign. After the death of the patriarch Adrian, in 1702, Peter the Great abolished that dignity, proclaimed himself the head of the Russian Church, and established a supreme council for the ecclesiastical affairs of the country, under the name of the "Most Holy Synod." The same monarch also ordered schools to be established in every episcopal see, declared that the convents should not acquire any landed property either by gift or purchase, and subjected the estates of the Church to the general taxation. In 1764 the Empress Catherine confiscated all the estates of the Church, which contained about nine hundred thousand male serfs, and assigned pensions to bishops, convents, &c. Several ecclesiastical schools were established under different reigns, and their organization was fixed by an ukase of 1814.

The Russian Church is now governed by the synod instituted by Peter the Great. This council is usually composed of two metropolitans, two bishops, the chief secular priest of the imperial staff, and the following lay members: the procurator or attorney, two chief secretaries, five secretaries, and a number of clerks. The procurator has the right of suspending the execution of the decisions of the synod, and of reporting any case to the emperor. The synod decides all matters relating to the faith and discipline of the Church, and superintends the

administration of the dioceses, from which it receives twice a-year a report of the state of churches, schools, &c.

There are five ecclesiastical academies in Russia,—Kioff, Moscow, St Petersburg, Kasan, and Troitza,—besides numerous seminaries. All the sons of the clergy must be educated in these seminaries, many of which maintain gratis a number of pupils. This compulsory system of education has produced some of the most learned men of Russia. The clergy form a separate body in Russia; and it is a very rare occurrence that a person belonging to another class should enter the Church. The sons of the clergy must follow the vocation of their fathers, but they may easily obtain a license from the authorities to pursue another occupation. This is generally done by all the more talented of them, except those who enter the monastic order, to which all higher grades of the hierarchy are reserved in the Greek Church. It is for this reason that the secular clergy or parish priests are generally composed of such as cannot get more advantageous employment.

I have related the union of the Greek Church of Poland with Rome, and its consequences (page 309). The greater part of the population belonging to that Church fell, by the partition of Poland, under the dominion of Russia. Attempts were made under the reign of Catherine and Paul to force the followers of this Church into the pale of that of Russia, but these attempts were only partially successful, and were discontinued under the reign of the Emperor Alex-

ander. In 1839 several bishops of the above-mentioned Church were induced by the Russian Government to declare a wish to separate from Rome, and to demand a union with the Russian Established Church. This declaration was followed by an ukase, ordering all the united churches to imitate the example of their bishops. The most stringent measures were adopted to effect a wholesale conversion ; and a great number of clergymen who refused to adopt the imperial ukase for the rule of their conscience, were punished by transportation to Siberia, imprisonment, &c. As a pretence for this compulsory conversion, it was alleged that these populations had formerly belonged to the Eastern Church, and should therefore return again into its pale,—a principle according to which the inhabitants of this island might with equal justice be forced into the pale of the Roman Church, and even brought back to the religion of the Druids and the worship of Woden. This preposterous measure has more than compensated to the Church of Rome the loss of the population torn from its pale, by giving it all the interest attached to a persecuted party, and by inspiring with an ardent zeal many of its hitherto lukewarm followers.* The most inte-

* It is a remarkable fact, that a bishop of the Established Russian Church at Mohiloff, Barlaam, a very learned man, declared in 1812, when that town was occupied by the French, for the new order of things, and ordered a *Te Deum* on the occupation of Moscow by the armies of Napoleon. He was deposed by the Russian government, and confined in a convent.

resting portions of the Russian Church are certainly its dissenting sects, comprehended under the general appellation of *Raskolniks*, i. e. schismatics.

It is very probable that several of the sects which had disturbed the Eastern Church in Greece had passed into Russia; and there are traces of their existence scattered over the chronicles of the middle ages. The first serious disturbance of the Russian Church took place, however, at Novgorod in 1375, when a man of an inferior condition, named Karp Strigolnik, began publicly to inveigh against the custom then prevailing amongst the Russian clergy, which obliged every priest to pay a certain sum of money for his ordination to the bishop. He represented that such a custom was simony, and that Christians should keep aloof from priests who had purchased their ordination; he also attacked the confession before a priest as unnecessary, and his opinions found many adherents. This produced in the streets of Novgorod a combat between them and the partizans of the established order. The former were defeated, and their principal leaders, including Strigolnik himself, thrown from the bridge into the river and drowned. The death of these reformers, instead of extinguishing their doctrines, increased the number of their followers, which is evident from the pastoral letters of several bishops, and even of the patriarchs of Constantinople, to whom reports about that sect had been made. The republican institutions of Novgorod and Plescow, where the

Strigolniks were spread in great numbers, offered them a considerable degree of liberty ; but when these republics were reduced into provinces of Moscow (at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century) a severe persecution compelled them to seek shelter in the Swedish and Polish dominions, and it seems that their descendants may be traced amongst the present Raskolniks.

Another more remarkable sect rose during the latter part of the fifteenth century in the same republic of Novgorod. Its real nature is, however, very obscure, because the only positive data which we have about its tenets are contained in a polemical work written against them in 1491, by a certain Joseph, Abbot of the convent of Volokolamsk; and consequently we are obliged to form our judgment of this sect, as well as of the Strigolniks, on the sole evidence of their enemies.

According to the account of the above-mentioned author, a Jew named Zacharias, whom he calls a vessel of Satan, a sorcerer, a necromancer, an astrologer, and even an astronomer, arrived about 1470 at Novgorod, where he began secretly to teach that the Mosaic law was the only true religion, and that the New Testament was a fiction, because the Messiah was not yet born; that it was a sin to worship images, &c. With the assistance of some other Jews, he seduced several priests of the Greek Church, with their families; and these became so zealous in their new confession, that they wished to be circumcised. Their Hebrew

teachers dissuaded them, however, from this resolution, which would have exposed them to the danger of being discovered ; and advised them outwardly to conform to Christianity, as it was sufficient that they should be real Israelites in their hearts. They followed this advice, and secretly laboured with great success to increase the number of their proselytes. The chief promoters of this sect were two priests called Dionysius and Alexius, the proto-papas of the church of St Sophia (the cathedral of Novgorod), one named Gabriel, and a layman of high rank.

The outward conformity of these secret Jews to the Greek Church was so strict, that they got the reputation of great sanctity. It was on this account that the Grand Duke of Moscow, having reduced the republic of Novgorod into a province of his empire, transferred to his capital the two above-mentioned priests, Dionysius and Alexius, placing them as proto-papas of two of its principal churches. Alexius gained the favour of the Grand Duke to such a degree, that he had always free access to him, which was a distinction enjoyed only by very few. He laboured, meanwhile, with great success in the propagation of his sect, which was secretly embraced by many clergymen and laymen, and, amongst others, by Kooritzin, the secretary of the Grand Duke, and Zosimus, the abbot of the convent of St Simon, who, having been recommended by Alexius to the favour of the Grand Duke, was elevated in 1490 to the dignity of Archbishop of Moscow. Thus

a secret follower of Judaism became the head of the Russian Church.

The existence of this sect is an historical fact ; but it is quite impossible to ascertain what was the real nature of its tenets,—whether it was a purer mode of Christianity, which rejected the images and other gross superstitions of the Greek Church, or simply a deistical sect,—for it is difficult to believe that pure Judaism should have found proselytes amongst Christians, and particularly amongst the clergy, who had been acquainted with the Mosaic law without having ever been tempted to adopt it as their religion,—a circumstance of which, with the exception of the celebrated Uriel d'Acosta, I believe there is scarcely any instance in history ;* because, although there were, as is well known, in Spain and Portugal many Jews who concealed their religion under an outward conformity to the Roman Catholic Church, performing even ecclesiastical functions, they were born Jews whom persecution compelled to act in this manner, and not Christians who had embraced Judaism. The account of this sect by the above-mentioned Joseph is so full of abuse and invective, that it excites a strong suspicion of being at least much exaggerated. He gives, however, the names of some of those sectarians who left the country in order to be circum-

* I speak here of Christians, because there were many Jewish proselytes amongst pagans. The Idumeans were converted by Herod the Great to Judaism ; and I have mentioned the Khozars in page 384.

cised ; he also repeatedly accuses them of having practised magic and astrology ; and this accusation throws a faint light upon the sect, by creating the supposition that it was one of those mystical sects of which traces may be found during the middle ages. Alexius and several leaders of the sect died enjoying the reputation of pious Christians ; but its existence was discovered by Gennadius, bishop of Novgorod, who sent several of its followers, with the evidence which he collected against them, to Moscow, without knowing, however, that the metropolitan himself, and the secretary of the Grand Duke, belonged to it. He accused them of having called the images of the saints logs ; of having placed them in unclean places, and gnawed them with their teeth ; of having spit upon the cross, blasphemed Christ and the Virgin, denied future life, &c. &c. The Grand Duke ordered a synod of bishops and other clergymen to be convoked at Moscow on the 17th October 1490, to judge of the case. The accused, amongst whom were the above-mentioned proto-papas, Dionysius and Gabriel, besides many others, steadily denied the charges made against them ; but such a number of witnesses, as well as other evidence, were brought against them, that their denial was not accepted. Several members of the synod recommended that the accused should be put to the torture, and then examined ; but this was not allowed by the Grand Duke,—a most astonishing circumstance, considering the barbarity of the age, and the personal disposition to cruelty of

that sovereign. The synod was therefore obliged to content itself with anathematizing and imprisoning the sectarians. Those who were sent back to Novgorod met with a severer treatment. Attired in fantastic dresses, intended to represent demons, and having their heads covered with high caps of bark, bearing the inscription, "This is Satan's militia," they were placed backwards on horses, by order of the bishop, and paraded through the streets of the town, exposed to the insults of the populace. They had afterwards their caps burnt upon their heads, and were confined in a prison,—a barbarous treatment undoubtedly, but still humane considering the age, and compared to that which the heretics received during the following century in Western Europe.

Zosimus and Kooritzin continued, however, to propagate their opinions; and it is said that, owing to that secret propaganda, doubts about the most important dogmas of the Christian religion spread amongst the people, and clergymen and laymen disputed about the nature of Christ, the mystery of the Trinity, the sanctity of images, &c. This, however, I think, was a natural consequence of the excitement created by the real or imaginary disclosures made by the judgment of the heretics. The metropolitan Zosimus was at last accused of heresy by the same Joseph, in an epistle addressed to the Bishop of Susdal. It is not certain whether or not this led to an investigation about the orthodoxy of the head of the

Russian Church. It is only known that he resigned his dignity in 1494, and retired into a convent. Kooritzin continued to enjoy the favour of the monarch, and was employed by him on an embassy to the Emperor Maximilian the First ; but the abbot Joseph and the bishop Gennadius, whose hatred of the heretics was inextinguishable, discovered about the beginning of the sixteenth century a considerable number of these sectarians, who fled from their persecution to Germany and Lithuania. Kooritzin and several of his adherents being examined about their opinions, openly defended them. The Grand Duke now delivered them to the tender mercies of their persecutors ; in consequence of which, Kooritzin, the abbot of the convent of St George at Novgorod, named Cassian, and several others, were burnt alive. Karamsin, who has described this event, has not stated the real nature of the opinions confessed by Kooritzin and his associates, because, as it seems, he could not rely on what was ascribed to them by their bitter accusers.

The sect seems to have disappeared since that time. There is, however, now a sect of the Raskolniks, which observes the Mosaic law, and is generally known under the name of *Subotniki*, or Saturday-men, on account of their observing Saturday, instead of Sunday, as a holiday ; but it has not yet been ascertained whether they have entirely adopted the religion of the Jews, or whether their religion is a mixture of Christianity with Mosaic rites. I am

inclined to the latter supposition ; because I think that in the former case they would have established a connection with the real Jews, of which there is, however, no trace.

The Reformation, which made many converts amongst the members of the Greek Church of Poland, produced scarcely a perceptible impression upon that of Russia. The Russian chronicles relate, that in 1553 a certain Mathias Bashkin began to teach that there were no sacraments, and that the belief in the Divinity of Christ, the ordinances of the councils, and the holiness of the saints, was erroneous. When examined on this subject by the authorities, he denied the charge ; but being imprisoned, he confessed his opinions, and named several individuals who shared in them, stating that these opinions had been taught to them by two Roman Catholic natives of Lithuania, and that the Bishop of Resan had confirmed them in these errors. A council of bishops, convened for that object, condemned the heretics to be imprisoned for life. This is all that is related on this subject by the Russian chronicles ; but it is impossible to form any correct opinion whether the doctrines alluded to were the anti-trinitarian dogmas, which were beginning to spread about that time in Poland, or only Protestant ones, but misrepresented by ignorant and bigoted chroniclers. The most remarkable part of it is, that a bishop seems to have entertained these opinions. He resigned his episcopal dignity on account of illness, which was perhaps

a pretext, to save him from deposition and from public scandal.*

A great commotion in the Russian Church

* That the doctrines of the Reformation had penetrated into the dominions of Moscow, is evident from the following statement of a Polish Protestant author, Wengierski, who wrote under the name of Regenvolscius. He says, that in 1552, three monks, called Theodosius, Artemius, and Thomas, arrived from the interior of Muscovy at Vitepsk, a town of Lithuania. They knew no other language than their own, nor had they any learning. They, however, condemned the idolatrous rites, and cast out the images from houses and churches, breaking them into pieces, and exhorting people, by their speeches and writings, to worship God alone through our Lord Jesus Christ. Having, however, excited by their zeal the hatred of the superstitious people, strongly attached to the worship of images, they left Vitepsk, and retired into the interior of Lithuania, where the Word of God already resounded with more freedom. Theodosius, who was more than eighty years old, died soon afterwards; Artemius retired to the Prince of Slutzk; and Thomas, who was more eloquent, and had a better knowledge of the Scriptures, than the others, became a minister in the Church of God, and settled at Polotzk, where the pure religion had begun to appear, in order to teach the faithful, and to confirm them in the knowledge of God and in piety. Having faithfully discharged the duties of his vocation during several years, he finally sealed by his death the principles of the new doctrines. When the Tzar of Moscow, Ivan Vassilevich, captured Polotzk in 1563, and committed many cruelties against the inhabitants, he ordered Thomas to be drowned in the river, because he had formerly been his subject, and belonged to his Church. The good seed which he had sown at Vitepsk produced, however, abundant fruit, because the inhabitants became disgusted with the idolatrous rites; and, having got from Lithuania and Poland preachers of the pure word of God, they built a church. (*Slavonia Reform.* p. 262.) It is well known that there are

was produced by the emendation of the Scriptures and the devotional books, effected under the Tzar Alexius by the Patriarch Nikon. During the long period of the Mongol domination, the whole country fell into a state of great barbarity; and the clergy, although enjoying considerable immunities under that domination, sunk into the grossest ignorance and superstition, from which they did not emerge after the emancipation of their country from the yoke of the Asiatics. The transcription of all the sacred and devotional books, entrusted to ignorant copyists, became gradually so disfigured, that their sense was often entirely lost; and the text of one copy differed from that of another. Already, in 1520, the Tzar Vassili Ivanovich requested the monks of Mount Athos to send him a man capable of correcting the text of the sacred books; and a Greek monk, called Maximus, well versed in the Greek and the old Slavonic languages, was sent, in consequence of this request, to Moscow. He was received with great distinction, and laboured for ten years with great assiduity in comparing the manuscripts of the Slavonic version with the

many Protestants in Russia; but they are all of foreign origin, with the exception, I believe, of the family of the Counts Golovkine, who became Protestants in Holland in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and still continue in that persuasion. I think, however, that Count Golovkine, who was sent as ambassador to China in 1805, and was employed on other diplomatic missions, and is the author of several works in French, was the last Protestant of this family.

original Greek text ; but the superiority of his knowledge excited the jealousy of the ignorant clergy of Moscow, who accused him of corrupting, instead of correcting, the sacred books, in order to establish a new doctrine. All the justifications of Maximus could not save him ; and he was confined in a convent, where he remained till his death in 1555.

Several efforts were made in vain to correct the sacred books. At last the Patriarch Nikon assembled a council for that purpose at Moscow in 1654, at which the Patriarch of Antioch, that of Servia, and fifty-six bishops, were present ; and it decided upon correcting the Scriptures and the liturgical books used by the Russian Church. In consequence of this decision, the Tzar Alexis ordered old manuscripts of the above-mentioned writings to be collected from all parts. The agent who was sent for that purpose to the convents of Mount Athos brought more than eight hundred Greek manuscripts, amongst which there was a copy of the Gospels written in the beginning of the eighth century, and another in the tenth. The patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, and several other Greek prelates of the east, sent more than two hundred manuscripts. The differences which arose between the Tzar Alexis and the Patriarch Nikon, which ended in the deposition of the latter by a council in 1664, arrested for some time the accomplishment of the projected reform ; but it was finally decided by the above-mentioned council, which, presided over by the tzar himself, was

composed of the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, who acted also in the name of those of Constantinople and Jerusalem, and a great number of Russian and eastern prelates. In consequence of this decision, the text of the Scriptures and the liturgical books was fixed in conformity to the oldest Slavonic manuscripts, which had been found to give the most faithful translation of the Greek original and the Septuagint version, and printed.

Although this important reform was accomplished with the sanction of the highest authorities of all the Eastern Churches, it met with numerous opponents in the country. Paul, bishop of Kolomna, with many priests, and an immense number of laymen, chiefly of the inferior classes, declared against what they called the Nikonian heresy; and that the measure in question did not correct, but corrupt, the sacred books and the true doctrine. The refractory bishop was deposed, and confined in a convent; and severe measures were adopted against the adherents of the uncorrected text; but the persecution served only to excite their fanaticism, and occasioned violent riots even within the walls of the capital. The opposition to the new order of things manifested itself with particular violence in the north, on the shores of the White-Sea; and its partizans were called, on that account, *Pomorane*, i. e. inhabitants of the coast. Their principal seat was the fortified convent of Solovietzk, situated on an island of that sea. After a long and desperate resistance, it was taken by storm in

1678, and a great number of its defenders threw themselves into the flames, in order to obtain the martyr's crown. The *Raskolniks*, or schismatics as they were now called by the established Church, spread their opinions over all Siberia, the country of the Cossacks of the Don, and in different other distant provinces. A great number of them emigrated to Poland, and even to Turkey, where they formed numerous settlements. The fanaticism excited by persecution degenerated into the wildest acts of superstition. The doctrine that the surest means of obtaining salvation was a voluntary suicide, through means of what they called the baptism of fire, caused a great number of victims; and it is an averred fact, that numbers of people of every age and sex shut themselves up in houses, barns, &c., and having set them on fire, perished in the flames, reciting prayers and singing hymns; and it is generally believed that instances of this atrocious superstition occur even now in some distant provinces, particularly in Siberia and the north, where many *Raskolniks* have formed settlements in the most secluded parts of immense forests, so that their very existence is unknown to any other people.*

* The atrocious scenes which I have mentioned in the text are not only described by the ecclesiastical authors of Russia who wrote against the *Raskolniks*, but are also related by the well-known scientific travellers who have explored the remote provinces of Russia during the last century, as Gmelin, Pallas, Georgi, Lepekhine, &c. Baron Haxthausen, who visited Russia in 1843, says, that a few years ago a num-

The *Raskolniks* are divided into two great branches, the *Popovshchina*, or those who have priests, and the *Bezpopovshchina*, or those who have none. They are subdivided into a great number of sects, of which several arose in consequence of the excitement created by the events which I have described, whilst others, which had existed previously to these events, were now comprehended under the general name of the *Raskolniks*. With regard to the first branch of them, it is split into several shades of opinion upon minor points of difference, but particularly on outward ceremonies. They consider themselves as the true Church, suffering persecution from the Niconian heretics, *i. e.* the established Church, from which they do not differ in doctrine, but merely in some outward observances, and in retaining the uncorrected text of the sacred books. They consider it also as a great sin to shave the beard,—an opinion which was formerly shared by the established Church, because an article of the

ber of these fanatics assembled on an estate belonging to one M. Gourieff, situated on the left bank of the Volga, and resolved to sacrifice themselves by a mutual murder. After some preparatory rites, the horrid design was put into execution. Thirty-six individuals had been murdered, when attachment to life arose in a young woman, who fled to a neighbouring village, and gave information of what was going on. A number of people hastened to the scene of these atrocities ; but they found forty-seven individuals murdered, and two murderers still alive. They were taken, and received the punishment of the knout ; but they exulted at every lash, rejoicing to suffer martyrdom.

Stoglav, or the canons of the council held at Moscow in 1551 (page 396), declares, that the shaving of the beard is a sin which even the blood of the martyrs cannot wash away, and therefore whoever shaves his beard is an enemy of God, who has created us after his own image. The most unanswerable argument with which the partizans of the smooth chin combat the doctrine which declares the disfiguring of the human face divine, by shaving the beard, to be a mortal sin, is, that beardless woman is also created after the image of God. The defenders of the beard, driven from their position by this argument, support it by the following passage of Leviticus, xix. 27 :—"Ye shall not round the corners of your heads, neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard."*

The separation between the established Church and the Raskolniks was rendered complete by Peter the Great, whose violent measures for civilizing his subjects, by changing their outward appearance, deeply wounded the national prejudices ; and an intelligent Raskolnik has judiciously observed to Baron Haxthausen, that it was not Nikon, but the above-mentioned monarch, who had separated them from the rest of their nation, by forcing upon it the western system of civilization, of which the shaving of the beard was a symbol. Peter's memory is abominated by the Raskolniks ; and

* The same Raskolniks consider other things prohibited by the Stoglav to be sinful, as, for instance, to eat hares, to drive with one pole, &c.

some of them maintain that he was the real Antichrist,—that it is written that the Antichrist shall change the times, and that he has done so by transferring the beginning of the year from the 1st of September to the 1st of January, and by abolishing the reckoning of the time from the beginning of the world, and adopting the manner of the Latin heretics, who do it from the birth of Christ. They also say, that it is a real blasphemy to impose taxes upon the soul (the pure breath of God), instead of imposing it upon earthly possessions.*

The adherents of the old text, who form the most numerous class of the Raskolniks, call themselves *Starovertzi*, or those of the old faith, and are officially called *Staroobradtzi*, those of the old rites. Their ministers are generally priests ordained by the bishops of the established Church, but who had left it, or had been expelled from its pale; and the Government does not acknowledge their clerical character. It is now, however, making great efforts to reconcile them with the established Church; and it has declared that the differences between their observances and rites and those of the above-mentioned Church do not constitute heresy, and has granted them a solemn authorization to retain entire their ecclesiastical order. It has bestowed on them the appellation of *Yedinovertzi*, i. e. co-religionists, and demanded from them

* It is well known that in Russia the poll-tax is levied on the male population, called in the official style *souls*.

only that their priests should receive ordination from the bishops of the established Church, promising that no interference should take place in the education of those priests, and that the ordination should be performed strictly according to the old ritual. Very little advantage has as yet been taken of this offer; and the few congregations which have accepted it are very anxious to keep separate from the establishment, and even regard their priests who had been ordained in the manner alluded to with great suspicion, fearing that the bishops from whom they received ordination might exercise over them an undue influence. They have a great number of convents and nunneries, the inmates of which are subject to the same monastic rules as those existing in all similar establishments of the Greek Church.*

The sects comprehended under the general denomination of the Bezpopovshchina, or those who have no priests, are very numerous. Many of them are distinguished only by some outward ceremonies, whilst their real dogmas are either unknown, or consist merely of some super-

* The author of this sketch was informed in 1830, by a high Russian functionary, that the number of the Raskolniks, including all their denominations, may be computed at five millions, and that it was continually on the increase. This, however, is only the case amongst the inferior classes of society, because, although there are amongst them some very wealthy merchants, yet their children, who have received a better education, almost invariably enter the established Church.

stitious observances, perhaps retained from the paganism of their ancestors.* There are undoubtedly several sects, which are descended from those that have frequently disturbed the Byzantine empire, but the description of these would far exceed the limits of these lectures. I shall therefore content myself with giving a short account of the most remarkable of them, the existence of which is established beyond every doubt. Such is that of the Skoptzi, or Eunuchs, which is even much spread at St Petersburg, Moscow, and other great towns,

* A Russian MS. of 1523, recently discovered, contains a discourse by an unknown author, in which the following remarkable passage is found :—"There are Christians who believe in Perun, in Khors and Mokosh, in Sim and Regl, and in Vilas, who, as these ignorant people say, are three times nine sisters. They believe them all to be gods and goddesses, and they make offerings to them of *korovay*, and sacrifice hens to them, and they adore the fire, which they call *Svarojich*." The three first named deities had, according to Nestor (page 36), their idols at Kioff, before the introduction of Christianity. Nothing is known about Sim and Regl. The belief in the existence of Vilas, or beneficent fairies, is even now one of the superstitions of the Morlacchi in Dalmatia. *Korovay* is the appellation of the wedding cake in different Slavonic countries. The name *Svarojich*, given to fire by its worshippers, is the patronymic of *Svarog*,* the Vulcan of the ancient Slavonians. It is very probable that the secret rites which are performed by some of the Raskolniks are nothing but the continuation of the old Slavonic idolatry to which the manuscript in question alludes.

* The resemblance of this word with *Surya* and *Sourug*, the Indian names of the sun, is one of the traces of the early Asiatic origin of the Slavonians.

comprehending many rich tradesmen, particularly jewellers, silversmiths, &c. It is supposed that they inflict upon themselves the self-mutilation of Origenes, on the same authority which misled him into this mad extravagance, namely, Matthew, xix. 12. Others doubt, however, whether their superstition be founded on the same misinterpretation of the above-mentioned passage. Their real tenets are kept a great secret. One thing, however, seems certain, that mortification of the flesh is the ruling idea of their creed, because many of them perform self-flagellation, wear haircloth, chains, iron crosses, &c. on their naked bodies; in short, all those self-torments and penances for which some saints of the Roman Catholic Church have become celebrated. A curious circumstance is, the extraordinary veneration which these fanatics are said to entertain for the Emperor Peter the Third, the murdered husband of the Empress Catherine. They maintain that he is their chief, and a true emanation of Christ; that he was not murdered, but that it was the body of a soldier which was buried, instead of Peter, who fled to Irkutzk in Siberia; and, as all salvation comes from the east, he will return from the place of his retirement, sound the great bell of the Cathedral of Moscow, and its toll will be heard by his true disciples the Skoptzi, in all parts of the world; and his reign will then begin.

The Skoptzi are exceedingly zealous in making proselytes, and pay large sums to those who join them. Whoever succeeds in making twelve converts is called an apostle; but it is

not known what privileges are attached to this dignity. They generally assemble for their mysterious worship at night, from Saturdays to Sundays. They have some secret signs by which they know each other, one of which, it is said, consists in placing a red handkerchief on the right knee, and striking upon it with the right hand. They have in their houses pictures of Peter the Third, with the above-mentioned sign of their sect.*

The Khlestovshchiki, or Flagellants,† are considered as a branch of the Skoptzi. They impose upon themselves flagellation and some other penances, of which there are many examples amongst the orthodox adherents of the Western Church ; but it seems that they have mysterious doctrines and rites, marked by the wildest superstition.‡

* These details are chiefly taken from the work of Baron Haxthausen, *Studien über Russland*. The author of these lectures happened in 1820 to be at Bobruisk, a fortress on the Beresina, where a short time before, a missionary of that sect, who had arrived from the interior of Russia, had induced about a hundred soldiers to join it by the forms required for that purpose. He was sentenced to have the knout, and his converts were transported to Siberia.

† From *khlestat*, to flog.

‡ These sectarians are accused of the same guilty extravagances which were ascribed to the Adamites. And it is said that the police of Moscow surprised one of their meetings in 1840, and that it was proved by the investigation made in consequence of this discovery, that the Khlestovshchiki are only a lower or preparatory grade of the Skoptzi ; that they have a community of women, although, in order to conceal it, they live in couples, mar-

The most remarkable of all the Raskolniks are undoubtedly the Malakanes and the Dook-hobortzi. Malakanes is a nickname given to the members of that sect, because they eat milk, in Russian *malako*, on fast-days; but they call themselves *Istinneeye Christians*, i. e. true Christians. Nothing is known about their origin. It is only said, that about the middle of the eighteenth century a Prussian non-commissioned officer, prisoner of war, settled in a village of the government of Kharkow amongst the peasantry, and gained such an influence over them, that they consulted him on every occasion, and always followed his advice. He had no home of his own, but went from cottage to cottage, reading and explaining the Bible every evening to an assembly of villagers, and continued to do so till his death. No further particulars about him, nor even his name, could be discovered by those who made researches on that subject; and the only thing which is known is, that he lived in a village inhabited by the Malakanes. It is, however, much more probable that he had found an already existing religious community with which his opi-

ried by priests of the established Church. It is a fact, that at their meetings they often jump about until they fall down from exhaustion; but these extravagances may be found in Great Britain and America. It is remarkable that the Flagellants of the middle ages had been accused of the guilty extravagances which are ascribed to the Khlestovshchiki; and it is very possible that in both cases they were the natural result of an over-excitement of the imagination, produced by continual self-torment.

nions coincided, than that he was its founder ; because it is said that a similar community was discovered about the same time in the government of Tambof. This sect is not numerous. About three thousand of its members are settled in the government of the Crimea, where they were visited in 1843 by Baron Haxthausen, who obtained from them an explanation of their creed, an abstract of which will be found in the note below.*

* They acknowledge the Bible as the Word of God, and the unity of God in three persons. This Triune God, uncreated, self-existent, the cause of all things, is an eternal, immutable, and invisible Spirit. God dwells in a pure world ; He sees all, He knows all, He governs all ; all is filled with Him. He has created all things. In the beginning, all that was created by God was good and perfect. Adam's soul, but not his body, was created after the image of God. This created immortal soul of Adam was endowed with heavenly reason and purity, and a clear knowledge of God. Evil was unknown to Adam, who possessed a holy freedom, tending towards God the creator. They admit the dogma of the fall of Adam, the birth, death, and resurrection of Christ, in the same manner as other Christians, and expound the ten commandments in the following manner :—"The first and second forbid idolatry ; therefore no images are to be worshipped. The third shows that it is sinful to take an oath. The fourth is to be observed by spending Sundays and other festivals in prayer, singing praises to God, and reading the Bible. The fifth, by ordering to honour parents, enjoins to be obedient to every authority. The sixth prohibits two kinds of murder,—first, the bodily, by a weapon, poison, &c., which is a sin, except in case of war, when it is not sinful to kill in defence of the Tzar and the country ; and, second, the spiritual murder, which is committed by seducing others from the truth with deceitful words, or enticing them by bad example into sin, which leads them

It is very curious that this sect, which has such a spiritual creed, is exclusively composed of common peasants, quite illiterate, living in the midst of a population plunged into gross

to everlasting perdition. They also consider it murder when one injures, persecutes, or hates his neighbour; according to the words of St John, 'He who hates his brother is a murderer.' With regard to the seventh commandment, they consider as a spiritual adultery, even a too great fondness of this world and its transient pleasures; and therefore, not only unchastity, but also drunkenness, gluttony, and bad company, should be avoided. By the eighth they consider every violence and deceit as theft. By the ninth commandment, every insult, mockery, flattery, and lie, is considered as false witness. By the tenth, they understand the mortification of all lusts and passions." They conclude their confession of faith by the following words:—"We believe that whoever will fulfil the whole of the ten commandments of God will be saved. But we also believe that since the fall of Adam no man is capable of fulfilling these ten commandments by his own strength. We believe that man, in order to become able to perform good works, and to keep the commandments of God, must believe in Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God. This true faith, necessary for our salvation, we cannot find anywhere else but in the Word of God alone. We believe that the Word of God creates in us that faith which makes us capable of receiving the grace of God." With regard to the sacrament of baptism, they say,—“Although we know that Christ was baptized by John in the river Jordan, and that the apostles have baptized others,—namely, as Philip did with the eunuch,—yet we understand by baptism, not the earthly water, which only cleanses the body, but not the soul, but the spiritual living water, which is faith in the Triune God, without contradiction, and in submission to his holy Word; because the Saviour says, 'Whosoever believeth in me, from his body streams of living water will flow;' and John the Baptist says, 'A man can take nothing which is not given him from heaven;' and Paul says, 'Christ has not sent

superstition, and almost idolatry, as is the case with the followers of the Greek Church in Russia. The works of the well-known German mystical writer Jung Stilling, which were translated into Russian, are very popular amongst the Malakanes, who are generally believers in the millennium. In 1833, one of them, called Terentius Belioreff, began to preach repentance, announcing that the millennium should begin in thirty months, and ordered that every business, and all kinds of work, except the most indispensable, should be abandoned ; but that people should spend their whole time in prayer and singing. He declared himself to be the prophet Elias, sent to announce the coming of the Lord ; whilst his companion Enoch was sent with the same mission to the west. He announced the day when he was to ascend to heaven, in the presence of all. Several thousands of Malakanes assembled from different parts of Russia. On the appointed day, he appeared on a cart, ordered the assembled crowd to pray on their

me to baptize, but to preach.' We therefore understand by the sacrament of baptism, the spiritual cleansing of our soul from sin through faith, and the death of the old man with his works in us, in order to be newly clad by a pure and holy life. Although, after the birth of a child, we cleanse with real water the impurities of his body, we do not consider it as baptism. With regard to the Lord's Supper, it was a commemoration of Christ ; but the words of the gospel are the spiritual bread of life. Man lives not by bread alone, but by every word of God. The Spirit gives life ; flesh is of no use. The receiving of the earthly bread and wine is therefore unnecessary."

knees, and then, spreading his arms, he jumped from the cart, and fell on the ground. The disappointed Malakanes delivered the poor enthusiast to the local police as an impostor. He was imprisoned, but having for some time remained in confinement, he spoke no more of his being the prophet Elias, but continued to preach the millennium in prison, and after his release, till his death. He left a considerable number of followers, who often assemble to spend days and nights in continual prayer and singing. They introduced the community of goods, and emigrated, with the permission of the government, to Georgia, where they settled in sight of Mount Ararat, waiting for the millennium, and where a colony of Lutherans from Wurtemberg had settled before for the same purpose.

If it is strange to find amongst the illiterate peasantry of Russia religious opinions of such a pure and spiritual character as those which are held by the Malakanes, how much more startling is it to meet amongst that peasantry doctrines which were entertained by the Gnostics, who belonged to the most intellectual classes of the Roman society. Such is, however, the case with the Duchobortzi, or Combatants in Spirit.* The origin of this sect is unknown. They derive it themselves from the three youths who were thrown into a burning

* From *Duch*,—*ch* pronounced as in *loch* (Scotice), spirit or ghost in all the Slavonic dialects,—and *boretz*, wrestler or combatant.

oven by Nebuchadnezzar, for having refused to worship his image (Daniel, iii.),—a saying which probably bears an allegorical meaning. They have no written records about their sect, or at least none have hitherto been discovered. My own opinion, however, is, that they are a continuation of the sect of the Patarenes, who maintained exactly the same doctrine about the fall of the soul before the creation of this world as the Duchobortzi, and who were very numerous in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in Servia, Bosnia, and Dalmatia, but of whom no mention is made since the latter part of the fifteenth century. It is very natural to suppose that some of these sectarians, persecuted in the south, sought refuge amongst their Slavonic brethren of Russia, particularly as the dialect of the country which they had inhabited is much akin to that of Russia. Be this as it may, the Duchobortzi were discovered, some years before the middle of the eighteenth century, in different parts of Russia. They were much persecuted under the reign of Catherine and Paul, particularly on account of their refusal to serve in the army; and they bore that persecution with remarkable firmness, resignation, and meekness. The Emperor Alexander granted them perfect toleration, and permitted them to establish settlements in the south of Russia, on the banks of the river Molochna, where they distinguished themselves by their industry and honesty. With regard to their dogma, I give, in the note below, the confession of their faith, which, in the time of their per-

secution under Catherine, they presented to Kochowski, governor of Ekaterinoslav, and which, considering that it is composed by illiterate peasants, is truly astonishing, for the abstract ideas and refined expressions which it contains.* It is remarkable indeed that the

* "Our language is rude before every one ; the writers are expensive, and it is not easy for us who remain in prison to get them ; therefore this declaration of ours is so badly written. Considering this, we request thee, Sir, to forgive to us, who are but little acquainted with the art of writing, the disorder of thoughts, the indistinctness and defectiveness of exposition, the unskilfulness of speech, and the unripeness of words ; and if, having clothed the eternal truth in coarse language, we have thereby disfigured its divine face, we beg of thee not to be tired of it on this account, because it is beautiful by itself, from and in all eternity.

"God is only one, but he is one in the Trinity. This holy Trinity is an inscrutable Being. The Father is the Light, the Son is the Life, the Holy Ghost is the Peace. In man the Father is manifested as the memory, the Son as the reason, the Holy Ghost as the will. The human soul is the image of God ; but this image in us is nothing else than the memory, the reason, and the will. The soul had existed before the creation of the visible world. The soul fell before the creation of the world, together with many spirits, who then fell in the spiritual world, in the world above ; therefore the fall of Adam and Eve, which is described in the Scripture, must not be taken in its usual sense ; but this part of the Scripture is an image, wherein is represented, firstly, the fall of the human soul from a state of exalted purity in the spiritual world, and before it came into the world ; secondly, the fall which was repeated by Adam, in the beginning of the days of this world, and which is adapted to our understanding ; thirdly, the fall which, since Adam, is spiritually and carnally repeated by all of us men, and which will be repeated till the destruction of the world. Originally the fall of the soul was brought about by its contemplating itself,

metaphysical creed of these sectarians could not preserve them from the grossest and most revolting superstition,—an additional proof that

and beginning to love only itself, so that it turned away from the contemplation and love of God ; and by a voluntary pride. When the soul was, for its punishment, enclosed in the prison of the body, it fell for the second time in the person of Adam, through the guilt of the seductive serpent ; that is to say, through the evil corrupted will of the flesh. At present, the fall of all of us is caused by the seduction of the same serpent, which has entered into us through Adam, through the use of the forbidden fruit, *i. e.* through the pride and vain-gloriousness of the spirit, and the lasciviousness of the flesh. The consequence of the first fall of the soul in the world above was the loss of the divine image, and its imprisonment in the matter. The memory of man was weakened, and he forgot what he had formerly been. His reason became darkened, and his will corrupted. It was thus that Adam appeared on this world with a faint recollection of the former higher world, without a clear reason and just will. His sin, which lay in his fall repeated on the earth, does not, however, descend to his posterity ; but every one sins, and is saved for himself. Although it is not the fall of Adam, but the wilfulness of each individual, which is the root of the sin, no man is, however, exempt from fall and sin, because every one who comes into this world had already formerly fallen, and brings with him the inclination to a new fall. After the fall of the soul in the world above, God created for it this world, and precipitated it, according to his justice, from the world of spiritual purity into this world, as into a prison, for the punishment of sin ;* and now our spirit, imprisoned in this world, is sinking and burying itself in this caldron of elements which ferment in it. On the other side, the soul is let down into the present life as into a place of purification, in order that, being clothed with flesh, and following its own reason and will, it should be grounded either in good or evil, and thus either obtain

* This was exactly the doctrine of the Patarenes of Bosnia.

metaphysical speculations sometimes lead their votaries to consequences from which the common sense of an ignorant man would have re-

the forgiveness of its former guilt, or become subject to everlasting punishment. When the flesh is formed for us in this world, our spirit flows down upon it from above, and man is called into existence. Our flesh is the storehouse into which our soul is received, and in which it loses the recollection and the feeling of what we had once been before our incarnation : it is the thin water of the elements in the boiling caldron of this world,—in this world of the Lord, in which our souls must be refined into a pure eternal spirit, which is better than the former one ; it is the cherub with the fiery sword, who bars to us the way to the tree of life, to God, to the absorption in his Godhead ; and here is fulfilled on man that divine destination, ‘ And now, lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat and live for ever.’

“ As God foresaw from all eternity the fall of the soul in the flesh, and knew that man could not by his own strength rise from this fall, the Eternal Love decided to descend on the earth, to become man, and to satisfy by its sufferings the eternal justice.

“ Jesus Christ is the Son of God, and God himself. It must be, however, observed, that when He is considered in the Old Testament, He is nothing else than the Heavenly Wisdom of God, the All-preserver, which in the beginning was clothed in the nature of the world, and afterwards in the letters and writings of the revealed Word. Christ is the Word of God, which speaks to us in the book of nature and in the Scriptures ; the power which, through the sun, miraculously shines upon the creation and in living creatures,—which moves everything, animates everything, and is everywhere, in number, weight, and measure. He is the power of God which, in our ancestors, as well as now in ourselves, acted and acts in different manners. When He is, however, considered in the New Testament, He is nothing else than the Incarnate Spirit of the highest wisdom, knowledge of God, and truth,—the Spirit of love, the Spirit coming from above,

coiled, and are but a poor substitute for the positive principles of religion. It is generally maintained that they have secret doctrines and

incarnate, inexpressible, holiest joy, of comfort, of peace in fulness, of every pulsation of heart, the Spirit of chastity, sobriety, moderation.

“ Christ was also man, because he was, like ourselves, born in the flesh. But he also descends into every one of us, through the annunciation of Gabriel, and is spiritually received, as in Maria ; He is born in the spirit of every believer ; He goes into the desert,—namely, into the flesh of the same,—is tempted by the devil in every man, through the cares of life, lasciviousness, and worldly honours. When He waxes strong in us, He speaks words of instruction ; He is persecuted, and suffers death on the cross ; is laid into the grave of the flesh ; He rises, in the light of glory, in the soul of those who suffer affliction to the tenth hour ; He lives in them forty days, influences all love in their hearts, and leads them accordingly towards heaven, and brings them upon the altar of glory, as a holy, true, and lovely sacrifice.”

With regard to the miracles of Christ, the Duchobortzi say, “ We believe that He has performed miracles. We were ourselves, through our sins, dead, blind, and deaf, and He has animated us again. But we don't know of any outward bodily miracles.”

The Duchobortzi acknowledge the Scriptures as given by God ; but they maintain that everything in them has a mysterious meaning, which was exclusively revealed, and is intelligible exclusively, to them ; and that all is symbolic. Thus the history of Cain is an allegory of the wicked sons of Adam, who persecute the invisible Church, typified by Abel. The confusion of tongues is nothing else than the separation of Churches. The drowning of Pharaoh is the symbol of the defeat of Satan, who will perish, with all his adherents, in the Red Sea of fire, through which the elect, *i. e.* the Duchobortzi, will pass unimpaired. They explain in the same manner the New Testament ; as, for instance, the turning of water into wine at the mar-

rites, the mystery of which never has been unravelled; as even those of them who had passed to the established Church keep an obstinate silence on this subject. Whether this opinion is correct or not, I cannot say. The following circumstance seems, however, to be an undoubtedly established fact.

An individual named Kapustin, a discharged non-commissioned officer of the guards, joined, about the beginning of this century, the Duchobortzi settled on the banks of the Molochna. His imposing appearance, and his extraordinary abilities, but particularly his great eloquence, gave him such an influence over these sectarians, that they considered him as a prophet, and blindly submitted to all his dictates. He established amongst his followers the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, teaching that "the soul of every believer was an emanation of the Godhead, the Word made flesh, and would remain upon earth, but change its body, as long as the created world was to exist. That God has manifested himself as Christ in the body of Jesus, who was the wisest and most perfect of men that ever lived; and that, therefore, the soul of Jesus was the most perfect and purest of all souls. That since the time when God manifested himself in Jesus, He

riage of Cana, signifies that Christ will, at the mysterious marriage with our soul, turn in our heart the water of the tears of repentance into a holy, paradisaic, spiritual wine, —into a beverage of joy and happiness.

always remains with mankind, living and manifesting himself in every believer ; but the individual soul of Jesus, according to what he declared himself, saying,—‘I shall remain with you to the end of the days,’—continues to dwell in this world, changing its body from generation to generation, but retaining, by a particular dispensation of God, the memory of its former existence. Therefore every man in whom the soul of Jesus is dwelling knows it. During the first ages of Christianity this fact was universally acknowledged, and the new Jesus was known to all. He governed the Church, and decided all the controversies about religion. He was called the pope ; but false popes soon usurped the throne of Jesus, who has retained only a small number of faithful followers and true believers, according to what he has predicted himself, that many are called, but few are chosen. These true believers are the Duchobortzi ; Jesus is constantly amongst them, and his soul animates one of them. Thus Sylvan Kolesnikoff (a leader of their sect) whom many of your old people have known, was a real Jesus ; but now I am he, as true as heaven is over my head and the earth under my feet, —I am the true Jesus Christ, your Lord. Therefore fall down upon your knees and worship me !” and they all fell down and worshipped him.

Kapustin introduced a perfect community of goods amongst his followers. The fields were cultivated in common, and their fruits divided according to the necessities of every one ; some

manufactures were established, and the colony became flourishing. In 1814 he was imprisoned for making proselytes, but after some time liberated on bail. A report was then spread that he had died; but the authorities having ordered the grave to be opened where he was said to have been buried, found that it was the body of another man. All efforts to trace his abode proved vain; and it was discovered only after his real death, that he had spent several years in a secluded cavern; whence he directed his followers. Kapustin established a council of thirty persons, twelve of whom were called apostles. This council chose for his successor his son, a youth of about fifteen years, weak-minded and disorderly, but the government of the community was conducted by the council. They could not, however, maintain that absolute sway which had been exercised by Kapustin over the minds of his followers; and their authority, as well as the truth of their doctrine, began to be questioned by many, who showed symptoms of revolt. The council formed amongst themselves a secret tribunal for the maintenance of their authority; and those who had resisted them, or were suspected of an intention to desert their community and join the established Church, were inveigled or carried by force into a house built upon an island of the Molochna, and called *Ray i Muka*, i. e. paradise and torment, and put to death in different ways. In this manner about four hundred individuals disappeared. The Government was informed of it, and a

great number of dead bodies were found, some of which were mutilated, whilst others showed that they had been buried alive. The judicial inquiry into that horrid business, which had begun in 1834, was concluded in 1839. The emperor ordered that all the Duchobortzi belonging to that colony should be sent into the Trans-Caucasian provinces, and there divided into separate settlements, and placed under a strict surveillance. Those, however, who were willing to enter the established Church were permitted to remain in their old settlements.

The account of these acts of atrocious superstition, perpetrated in our own days, would be incredible, if it were not corroborated by such a high authority as that of Count, now Prince, Woronzoff, who is well known in England. The fact related here took place in a province entrusted to his administration. Baron Haxthausen, from whose work I have extracted the details of this affair, gives the translation of a proclamation addressed to the above-mentioned Duchobortzi, and signed by Count Woronzoff, as governor-general of the provinces of New Russia and Bessarabia, on the 26th January 1841. In this proclamation he publishes the imperial order about their transportation to the Trans-Caucasian provinces, and states that they had in the name of their creed, and by the command of their teachers, committed murders, and cruelly used people, giving asylum to deserters, and concealing the crimes of their brethren, who were now in prison awaiting a just punishment. In consequence of this order,

about two thousand five hundred individuals went to the Trans-Caucasian provinces, whilst the remainder conformed to the established Church; but it scarcely can be doubted that they did it only in an outward manner. My authority gives no information about those who, as it appears from Count Woronzoff's proclamation, were convicted of the crimes to which he alludes, and the details of whose trial would certainly deserve a prominent place amongst the *causes celebres* of Europe.

I shall conclude my sketch of the religious sects of Russia by a short account of the Martinists, who deserve an honourable place in the annals of religion, as well as in those of freemasonry, because they practised, by means of the masonic lodges, the sublime precepts of religion; and perhaps freemasonry never had an opportunity of displaying a nobler sphere of activity than it had under the name of Martinism in Russia.

The Chevalier St Martin is not so much known as he deserves.* It would, however, exceed the limits of these lectures to give here a biography of this remarkable man, who, at a time when the infidel school of philosophy exercised a complete authority over the public opinion of France, was steadily labouring to spread

* The Chevalier St Martin was born in 1743, and died in 1803. His principal works are, *De l'Erreur et de la Verité*, and *Des Rapports entre Dieu l'Homme et la Nature*. A detailed account of his life and works may be found in the *Biographie Universelle*.

the doctrines of pure Christianity, although tinged with a considerable admixture of mysticism. He endeavoured to establish his doctrines by means of the masonic lodges, and to give them a religious and practical tendency. He did not succeed in accomplishing this object in his own country, although he had obtained some success amongst the lodges of Lyons and Montpellier; but his doctrines were imported into Russia by Count Grabianka, a Pole, and Admiral Pleshcheyeff, a Russian, and introduced by them into the masonic lodges of that country, and they have since that time received a still greater development. The works of Jacob Böhme, and of Protestant religious writers such as John Arndt, Spener, and some others of the same school, as well as those of St Martin himself, became the guides of this society, which reckoned amongst its members persons belonging to the first classes of the community. Their object was, however, by no means simply to indulge in religious speculations, but to put in practice the precepts of Christianity, by doing good, and they displayed in that respect the greatest activity. Their sphere of action was not, however, limited to simple acts of charity, but they promoted education and literature. Moscow was their principal seat, and they established in that capital a typographic society for the encouragement of literature. In order to induce young men of talent to devote themselves to literature, this society purchased all the manuscripts which were brought to it, prose and

poetry, original productions and translations. A great number of these manuscripts not deserving of publication were destroyed or left in their store-house, but a great many were printed. They particularly promoted the publication of works having a religious and moral tendency, but they printed also works belonging to every branch of literature and science, so that the Russian literature was rapidly enriched by a great number of works, chiefly translated from foreign languages. They established also a large library, for which they expended more than forty thousand pounds English money, containing chiefly religious works, and accessible to all who wished to acquire information. A school was founded at their expense ; and they sought out young men of merit, and provided them with means of completing their studies in the country or at the foreign universities.

Amongst the members of that admirable society, Novikoff was particularly remarkable, having from his youngest days devoted himself with all his heart and soul to advance the national intellect of his country. He began by publishing literary periodicals, spreading useful information, and attacking prejudices, abuses, and all that was wrong. He afterwards established a learned periodical, and another of a more popular character, but with a serious tendency, and devoted the produce of these publications to the establishment of primary schools, with gratuitous instruction. He afterwards trans-

ferred his residence to Moscow, where he established the typographical society which I have mentioned.

Every member of the freemasonry promoted these noble objects, not only by contributing to its funds, but by his personal exertions,—by his influence on his relations and friends, in order to induce them to imitate his example. Whenever they discovered in some distant province a man of talent, they made efforts to put him in his proper place. It was thus that one of the most active members of that society, M. Tourgheneff,* found in a remote province a young man of promise, but who had not the means of cultivating his talents. He brought him to Moscow, and provided him with means to study at the university. This young man was the celebrated historian of Russia, Karamsine, no less distinguished by his talents than by his noble character.

The zeal of the Martinists in promoting works of charity was equal to that which they displayed for the intellectual improvement of their country. Those who were not able to give much money gave their time and labour. Several Martinists spent literally their all in supporting the useful establishments of their society, and in alleviating the sufferings of their fellow-creatures. Thus, Lapookhin, a man belonging to one of the greatest families of Russia, spent in that way a princely fortune,

* Father of Alexander and Nicholas Tourgheneff, both well known in this country.

satisfying his own wants in the most economical manner. A senator and judge of the criminal court of Moscow, his whole life was devoted to the defence of the oppressed and the innocent, for which the state of justice in Russia afforded him ample scope. Instances of others might be quoted, who not only sacrificed large fortunes, but submitted to great privations, in order to be better able to promote the noble ends of their society.

It is unfortunately not often that a Pole has the opportunity to speak of the Russians as I could do it now ; and let me add, that there have been many individuals amongst them whose conduct was diametrically opposed to that which is systematically followed by their Government towards the author's countrymen. They have alleviated the sufferings of many a victim of the preposterous system to which I have alluded ; and, what is perhaps a greater proof of a high-minded disposition, they knew how to soothe the deeply-wounded national feelings of those to whose views and objects their own were opposed. It would be anything but a service to these noble-minded individuals to name them here ; but should these lines ever meet the eye of some of them, they may rest assured that their actions are not unknown to my countrymen, who understand how to appreciate them. There is, however, no reason that should prevent me from expressing the grateful respect entertained by my countrymen for the memory of the late Prince Galitzin, general governor of Moscow, who proved a paternal friend to many

young Poles, victims of a systematic persecution, begun about 1820, against their nationality, in the Polish provinces of Russia, and who were exiled from their homes into the interior of Russia, for no other cause except that their talents and moral conduct were as many obstacles to the accomplishment of the ends of that persecution. I have no hesitation in affirming, that the opinions which I have expressed are shared by all true Polish patriots, amongst whom there are such as have preferred the sufferings of exile to considerable personal advantages which they might enjoy by entering into a political system which they now oppose. It is not, indeed, by a blind national hatred that a just cause may be promoted, for such feelings are more calculated to degrade than to elevate it. An honest man will stand by the cause which he has embraced from motives of conscience, and not of interest, without any regard to those by whom it may be assailed or defended. He will not flinch from its defence because he may happen to be opposed by those for whom he entertains sentiments of personal regard, and even affection ; neither will he be less faithful to it because he may have the misfortune of not being able to entertain similar feelings with many of its defenders.

I return to the Martinists. There can be no doubt that, had they been permitted to continue their noble labours, they would have rapidly advanced true civilization in Russia ; for they zealously endeavoured to enlighten their countrymen, not only by promoting literary and

scientific instruction amongst different classes of the inhabitants, but particularly by infusing a truly religious spirit into the national Church, which represents little more than an assemblage of outward forms and superstitious beliefs, and rendering it an efficient instrument of moral and religious education to the people. The masonic lodges gradually spread over the whole empire, and their beneficial influence was beginning to be every day more and more felt. They reckoned amongst their members all the best men of Russia, high functionaries, scholars, merchants, but particularly publishers and printers. There were also found in their ranks several high dignitaries of the Church, as well as single parish priests.

This was a glorious epoch in the annals of freemasonry, which never, perhaps, had such a noble, though, alas ! short career of usefulness as that which it prosecuted under the guidance of its Martinist leaders in Russia. It would have pointed that country to an object entirely different from that which it is now pursuing, by directing the energies of its population from foreign conquest and aggression upon other countries, to the civilization and improvement of their own. But nothing that is good and noble can prosper without the genial air of liberty ; all such must be sooner or later withered by the deadly blast of despotism, which, though it may be occasionally inspired with good intentions, will always abandon them as soon as their objects shall come into collision with its own real or fancied interests. This was the case

with the Martinists. The Empress Catherine, who had been for some time promoting many real reforms in her empire, conceived in a remarkably liberal spirit, grew, as she advanced in age, more and more despotic. The fear of the French Revolution caused her to abandon all those ideas by the display of which she had courted and gained the adulation of those very authors whose works had greatly accelerated that terrible commotion. She no longer thought how to promote the intellectual advancement of her subjects, but how to arrest it ; and it was therefore that she became suspicious of the free masons in general, and of the typographic society in particular. Its most active member, Novikoff, whose efforts to enlighten his countrymen I have mentioned, was shut up in the fortress of Schlusselfurg, and Lapookhin, Prince Nicholas Trubetzki, and Tourgheneff, were banished to their estates ; whilst the works of Arnold, Spener, Böhme, and other religious books, translated into Russian, were seized and burnt, as dangerous to the public order. The Emperor Paul liberated Novikoff on his accession ; but the trials of this patriotic individual did not end here. He recovered his liberty, but found a desolate home : his wife was dead, and his three young children were a prey to a terrible and incurable disease. The Emperor Paul, whose mad outbursts of despotism were the result of a mind diseased by a keen sense of wrongs inflicted upon him by his own mother, but whose natural character was noble

and chivalrous,* demanded of Novikoff, when he was presented to him on his liberation from the fortress, how he might compensate the injustice that had been done to him, and the sufferings to which he had been exposed. "By rendering liberty to all those who were imprisoned at the same time when I was," was Novikoff's answer.

The Martinists could not resume their former labours: they continued, however, quietly to maintain and to promote their ideas. The Emperor Alexander, who, after the French war, began to incline towards religious mysticism, particularly by the influence of the celebrated Madame Krudener, and who sincerely wished to promote the good of his country, called the Martinists to his counsels. He entrusted one of them, Prince Galitzin, with the department of the religious affairs and public education of the country. Galitzin and other Martinists made great efforts to promote public education, and to spread a religious spirit in the country. It was then that the Bible societies were pro-

* Whatever the conduct of the Emperor Paul may have been in general,—and there can be no doubt that it was in a great measure actuated by a mental disease,—no Pole can ever forget his truly chivalrous behaviour towards Kosciuszko, to whom he went himself to announce his liberation, and whom he assured that, had he been on the throne, he would never have permitted the destruction of Poland. The same monarch, immediately after his accession, granted to the Polish provinces seized by his mother, the maintenance of the national language, laws, and local administration.

moted by the influence of the Government, and that many foreign works of a religious character, as, for instance, those of Jung Stilling, &c. were translated and published. A religious periodical with a mystical tendency, entitled the "Messenger of Sion," was published in Russian, by a M. Labzin. It had a considerable circulation; and it seems that there was a good number of persons entertaining these opinions; but as there is no publicity in Russia, it is exceedingly difficult to ascertain the real state of things. One thing, however, is certain, that all the liberal and religious tendencies which had manifested themselves under the reign of the Emperor Alexander have disappeared in Russia, and given way to a line of policy, the object of which is, to mould the various national and religious elements contained within the limits of the Russian empire into one system of ecclesiastical and national uniformity,—a policy which, I think, is more calculated to weaken and destroy than to fortify the conservative elements of a state. I have mentioned (page 399) the persecution of the Greek United Church, which has taken place under the present Government; and the attempts which have been made to subvert the Protestant Church of the Baltic provinces are well known. It was also in consequence of the policy alluded to that the Bible societies were prohibited, and the Protestant missionaries, who were labouring in the Asiatic provinces of Russia, forbidden to prosecute their labours.

I confess that it is with feelings of no ordi-

nary gratification that I have dwelt upon facts which throw a cheering light upon the gloomy but unfortunately true picture which has been often drawn of the social condition of my Slavonic brethren of Russia. The example of the Martinists and of the Malakanes, taken from the upper and the lower classes of Russian society, proves that the long despotism which has weighed for centuries, and still weighs, over that country, and the no less baneful influence of prædial and domestic servitude, have not destroyed in its inhabitants all the germs of the noblest moral qualities which, under more favourable circumstances, would have been fully developed.* The sufferings which have been inflicted on the author's nation by the Government of Russia

* Few instances, perhaps, afford a stronger illustration of the debasing influence of despotism than that which is afforded by the example of Count Rostopchine, by whose order Moscow was set on fire in 1812. This splendid act of patriotism, which induced a nation to devote its own capital to the flames, in order to liberate the country from a foreign invader, deserves the sincere admiration of every true patriot, should even the interests of his own country, as was the case with that of the author's, have suffered by it. It should be, indeed, the cause of a just pride to every Russian, but particularly to the principal actor of that terrible but sublime drama, Rostopchine. And yet the obsequiousness of the courtier stifled in the heart of that man the spirit of the hero. Having learnt that the Emperor Alexander did not approve of the idea that Moscow had been destroyed by the Russians themselves, although it was the fact, Rostopchine published a pamphlet in French, disclaiming this heroic action for himself and his nation, and ascribing the burning of the Russian capital to the French. Alas for a nation which is obliged to disavow actions in which every other would have exulted !

are well known, and it is on account of his opposition to that Government that he is in this country. He has, however, no hesitation in declaring, in the name of his countrymen, that their feelings towards the Russians are not those of revenge, but of a deep regret at seeing them converted into wretched tools of oppression,—considering it a more deplorable lot than that of being oppressed; and they hope that a nation which may boast of the republican glories of Novgorod, and has produced a Minine and a Pojarski, is reserved for better things.* Many were the struggles which had divided the two cognate nations, and victory has more than once crowned the Polish eagles; but few nations, if any, can boast of such a glorious triumph as that which was obtained in 1612 over Moscow by the Polish General Zolkiewski. Having defeated the Russian forces, Zolkiewski marched upon their capital, which, a prey to anarchy and faction, trembled at the approach of the dreaded enemy. To avoid the impending ruin of their capital, the council of the Boyars offered, through Zolkiewski, the throne of their country to the son of his monarch, demanding no other condition than security for

* Russia being thrown into a state of anarchy, and a war with Poland, in consequence of the treaty concluded by Zolkiewski, described in the text, having been broken by King Sigismund the Third, was on the brink of ruin. It was saved by the patriotism of Minine, a common burgher of Nijni Novgorod, and Prince Pojarski, whom the former induced to place himself at the head of an armed force.

their Church. The victorious general accepted that proposition, but added the condition, that a constitution which guaranteed to the inhabitants the security of their lives, property, and the right of self-taxation, should be established at the same time in Muscovy. Thus the victor bestowed upon the vanquished liberty, and having entered the capital at the request of the Boyars, he established order, and gained the unlimited confidence of the inhabitants. When, in order to accelerate the fulfilment of the treaty concluded by him, Zolkiewski departed from Moscow, he left that capital, which had been filled with terror and consternation at his approach, amidst the universal regrets of the population. The principal persons of the country accompanied him to the gates of the city; whilst all the windows, and even the roofs of the streets through which he passed, were filled with people invoking the blessings of heaven on the Polish general, whom a short time before they had dreaded as their most terrible enemy. We Poles shall be always more proud of this triumph of our Zolkiewski than of all the victories which our nation ever obtained; and let the Russians glory in the bloody feats of their Suwarroff and the massacre of Praga.*

* Karamsin has justly observed, that the accession of Vladislav would have changed the fate of Russia by weakening the autocracy, and perhaps, by the same means, that of the whole of Europe, if his father, King Sigismund, had had the wisdom of Zolkiewski. This, unfortunately, was not the case, as I had an opportunity to relate in page 323.

The Slavonians of the Turkish empire were converted at a more early period than the other nations of their race, which was a natural consequence of their vicinity to, and their frequent intercourse with, Constantinople. They have remained since that time under the jurisdiction of the Greek Patriarch ; and their ecclesiastical history does not present any peculiar features of interest, except the sect of the Bogomiles, which prevailed in Bulgaria, and which, as is evident by its name, being derived from *Boh*, God, and *miluy*, have mercy, was of Slavonic origin ; and that of the Patarenes, which, imported, as it appears, from Italy, was very numerous in Servia, Bosnia, and Dalmatia, from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. The account of these sects may be found in all ecclesiastical histories ; but there is still much uncertainty about the real nature of their doctrines, which my limits will not permit me here to investigate ;* and I have already remarked, that the Patarenes entertained doctrines similar to those of the Duchobortzi (page 425). A considerable number of Servians, including many noble families of that country, embraced Mahomedanism towards the end of the fourteenth century. They have preserved their Slavonic language, their national and family traditions, and the characteristic trait of the

* A very interesting dissertation on these sects will be found in Sir Gardner Wilkinson's last work, *Dalmatia and Montenegro*, vol. ii. p. 97.

Slavonic nation,—attachment to their race,*—uniting with these feelings an ardent devotion to the creed of the Alcoran and the rule of the Moslem. A great number of these Slavonians distinguished themselves in the Turkish service, and were invested with the highest dignities of the state. Their number amounted, according to *Szaffarik's Slavonic Ethnography*, to half a million of souls, besides three hundred thousand Bulgarians, who have also become followers of Mahommed.

Having now concluded a rapid sketch of the religious history of the Slavonic nations, I shall add a few general observations on this subject, as well as on a few topics immediately connected with it. My object in producing this sketch was, not to amuse my readers,—for this may be, I think, attained in a more effective manner by works of fiction than by history;—my intention was to add a mite to the service of the Protestant cause in general, by bringing forward new evidence in its favour, and thus to enlist the interest and support of the British Protestants for the same cause in the Slavonic countries. The Protestants of Great Britain embrace, in their zeal for promoting Christian truth, the remotest nations of the globe, and immense sums are generously expended in spreading the Word of God in their languages. British and American missionaries

* I have quoted a remarkable instance of their Slavonic sympathies in page 204.

make efforts to Christianize the savage islanders of the Pacific, as well as the learned Brahmins of India; for the same noble object they seek in every country of the world for the scattered children of Israel; and they have visited the Nestorians, and other remnants of the Christian Churches in the East, in order to re-animate amongst them the obscured and almost extinct truths of the gospel. There is also no want of exertions to assist in the re-animation and spread of these truths in several parts of Western Europe; but the Slavonic nations seem alone to be forgotten. The race which produced John Huss, and has given proofs of its devotion to the truths proclaimed by that great reformer, than which no nation can show greater, excites less interest in the minds and hearts of the British Protestants than the inhabitants of the interior of Africa, or those of the polar regions. And yet this race, which comprehends nearly the third part of the whole population of Europe, occupies more than a half of its territory, and extends its dominion over the whole of Northern Asia, contains only about one million five hundred thousand Protestants. I therefore think that those British Protestants who have really at heart the promotion of the cause of true religion, even in the remotest parts of the world, should, for the sake of that cause, pay at least some attention to its present condition and future prospects, in a quarter near their homes, and where the most important political interests of Europe will undoubtedly be decided

either for good or for evil. The experience of history should, I think, direct the attention of British Protestants to those nations where the writings of their own Wickliffe had produced a powerful effect, whilst they found no echo amongst the inhabitants of other countries (pages 59 and 176). A strong ferment is now agitating the minds of the Slavonic nations; and its result may be productive either of great good or of no less evil to Europe, according to the direction which may be given to the movement, resulting from this ferment. It may be one of intellectual, political, and religious progress, leading to the establishment of constitutional government and reformed churches in the Slavonic lands, and may serve to promote and consolidate the same order of things in other countries; but it may also lead to a war of races, in which the national antipathies and pride may be roused to such a pitch, that all other considerations will be silenced by the feeling of revenge for real or imaginary wrongs, and by the dazzling idea of national grandeur, however delusive that may prove in the end. Nations, as well as individuals, are capable of the most elevated sentiments, as well as of the worst passions. They are capable of generosity, kindness, and gratitude, but no less of arrogance, greediness, and revenge, with this difference, that the last-named feelings, though always reprobated in an individual, are but too often regarded as virtues when, animating a nation, they assume the garb of patriotism; and it is not unfrequent that men who would

never infringe the strictest rules of morality so long as they are acting in their individual capacity, will not hesitate to adopt the principle of "our country, right or wrong." This observation is applicable to every nation, and particularly to the Slavonians, whose national feelings have been irritated by the recollection of historical wrongs which they had received from the Germans, and whose memory, instead of being obliterated by soothing the wounded feelings of the injured party, is, on the contrary, sedulously preserved by new acts of aggression on its nationality, as well as by the works of German writers,* boasting of

* Amongst the works of the kind alluded to in the text, the most remarkable, undoubtedly, is that of M. Heffter, and which I regret not to have known when I wrote my essay on *Panslavism*. It is entitled, *Der Weltkampf der Deutschen und der Slaven*; or the Universal Struggle between the Germans and Slavonians; 1847. It is a well-written work, with great knowledge of the subject, and contains a detailed description of the subjugation of the Baltic Slavonians by the Germans, which I have related in my first lecture. Few works are, however, more calculated to rouse the most violent feelings of national animosity against the Germans amongst the Slavonians than this to which I allude; for its whole tenour is a continual pæan on the events pithily described in the following words of Herder:—"The Slavonians were either exterminated or reduced to bondage by whole provinces; and their lands were divided amongst bishops and nobles;" and the learned author declares that the Slavonians have not even a claim to have any interest excited in their fate, having deserved it by their own conduct (p. 459). The author observes, that the last act of the national struggle was that violation of every principle of international law which met with such general reprobation in this country, i. e. the incorporation of the republic of Cracow with Aus-

those deeds of oppression by which their ancestors exterminated the Slavonic inhabitants of whole provinces (page 6), and proclaiming

tria (p. 455) ; and he exults in the idea that Germanism will steadily pursue its conquering progress in the Slavonic lands, and generously condescends to allow the Slavonians to cultivate their language and literature, on condition of making no attempt at political emancipation ; and he declares that the Slavonians, under the German dominion of Prussia and Austria, cannot have any hope of ever attaining this object, which the Germans never will permit. The same sentiments were uttered by the diet of Frankfort, forgetting that the Slavonic population of the Austrian empire is more than double that of its German one ; and I have given extracts from other German writers, expressing similar opinions, in my essay on *Panslavism* (page 133). All these manifestations of a positive intention to keep the Slavonians politically under the dominion of the Germans, produced an immense irritation amongst the Slavonians of Prussia and Austria ; and it is to be feared that the events of the last twelve months, as well as the policy pursued by the Austrian Cabinet, may lead to collisions, the consequences of which it is impossible to foresee. I seize this opportunity most earnestly to represent to the periodical press, and the public men of this country, the great importance which is attached to the opinions expressed by them on the countries to which these opinions refer. The hostile articles of the English press, and similar speeches in both Houses of Parliament, caused by accusations either entirely unfounded, or produced by parties equally guilty of the excesses imputed by them to the Poles, produced upon my country a lasting and deplorable effect. The manifestations of ill-will to which I have alluded have generally originated in a momentary excitement, produced by a wrong impression, or simply uttered in opposition to the English political party favourable to the Polish cause ; and sometimes without any other reason than a fit of ill-humour in an individual, who vented it against the Poles because they gave him the first opportunity for doing so. Their impression upon the British public, accustomed to violent

an intention of continuing the work of their forefathers, by subjecting the modern Slavonians to the political supremacy of Germany.

expressions of political feeling, was therefore not lasting ; and perhaps many of the parties who had indulged in the above-mentioned manifestation forgot them soon afterwards themselves. The impression which the circumstances alluded to have produced in Poland was, however, deep and painful ; because the reports of all these hostile expressions, which were either contained in the newspapers or made use of in parliamentary debates, were sedulously circulated in Poland, whilst all the manifestations of sympathy which were made at that time by the British press or public men, for the above-mentioned country, were carefully withheld from the knowledge of its inhabitants.* These circumstances have rendered a very great service to Russia, by weakening the moral influence of England in the east of Europe, and by increasing in the same ratio that of Russia, which has been greatly augmented by the recent events of Hungary. And yet, can there be any doubt that the moral influence of England may powerfully promote the advancement of rational liberty and civilization in many a quarter, and that the true interests of

* It may here be observed, that the Russian Cabinet, in obtaining several times from the French Government the expulsion of some Polish refugees from Paris, or even France, had a much more important object in view than simply to vex these individuals. The Russian diplomacy is too wise to condescend to such puerile acts of oppression, in order to prevent those refugees from indulging in hostile manifestations against Russia ; for it knows well that, expelled from France, they may do the same in England or Belgium, and that it only served to produce on the French public an impression unfavourable to that country. Its real object in obtaining from the French Government those acts of subserviency to its dictates, was to show in Poland the power of the Russian influence in France, and that the Poles had nothing to expect from the French Government. It has completely succeeded in this object ; and justice demands it to be added, that it has rendered a considerable service to the Poles, by destroying a dangerous delusion, which had done them much harm on more than one occasion.

The effects of these deplorable proceedings become every day more and more manifest, and may be productive of great and lasting calami-

Great Britain require that she should endeavour to establish everywhere such an influence, and employ it for the ends alluded to, in order to counteract tendencies of an opposite character, and hostile, not only to her political, but even commercial interests? No one can entertain a stronger feeling of gratitude and respect than the author does for the unceasing exertions made in behalf of his country and her exiled children by Lord Dudley Stuart; but he thinks that the same nobleman has rendered no mean service to his own country, by contributing, more than any individual of his nation, to the spread of its moral influence in a quarter of the world where its utility may perhaps become apparent much sooner than is generally believed. Lord Dudley Stuart's name is venerated by all the Polish patriots, and he is looked up to by all those Slavonians who have not yet lost the hope of establishing, with the assistance of Western Europe, a constitutional order of things in its eastern parts, and who consider him as the advocate of that cause before the British people, whose active support to it is the only remaining means for arresting the progress of Russian influence in those quarters. No one need longer doubt the desire of Russia to conquer Turkey, and that, sooner or later, she will attain this object, unless deprived in time of the means to do it. The surest means by which Russia may subjugate the Ottoman empire, or at least inflict upon it a mortal blow, is to gain over the Turkish Slavonians, which she may now accomplish more easily than ever, since Austria, by the recent events of Hungary, but particularly by her suicidal policy in that country, has become powerless to oppose the progress of Russia in that quarter. This progress may yet be arrested by the means to which I have alluded; but it is greatly to be feared that it will soon be too late, if the western Slavonians, abandoned by Europe, and exposed to the unwise efforts of Germany to keep them in a state of political subordination, should finally give way to the opinion which is rapidly gaining ground amongst them, that the only means for the Slavonians to

ties, not only to the two rival races, but to the cause of humanity and civilization in general. All possible means should therefore be employed to avert the too probable consequences of national animosities, the existence of which, unfortunately, cannot be denied, but which, I believe, may be yet done away by removing their causes.

Is it necessary to say, that religion is the most efficient means of reconciling individuals as well as nations, though it has been but too often perverted into a source of discord? The purer the form under which Christianity is presented to men, the stronger should be its influence in cementing the bonds of charity and good-will between individuals and nations united under the same forms; but, unfortunately, as I had an opportunity of relating in page 155, the community of faith has not prevented German Protestants from abandoning their Slavonic brethren of Bohemia, and even from joining against them the Roman Catholic Germans of Austria and Bavaria; though, on the other side, as I have shown in page 274, the Polish Protestants zealously supported their brethren of France. The Protestant Government of Prussia is unfortunately much more in-

obtain a position in the society of European States, is to sacrifice the interests of their separate branches to those of their whole race, and to seek compensation for this sacrifice in the glories of an empire which, comprehending their whole race, would undoubtedly give it a decided preponderance in the affairs of the world. All those who have studied the state of the Slavonic nation know that such a combination is less Utopian than may be imagined; and Europe will do well to look to it ere it be too late.

tent on converting its Slavonic subjects into Germans, than on promoting Protestantism amongst them. I have related (page 377) that the Protestant Churches of Prussian Poland have lost their Polish nationality, and, in the same way, the means of exercising an influence on the Polish population of that province. Let me add, that there is in Prussia proper, or the province of Königsberg, a considerable Polish Protestant population, so that there are about seventy churches where Divine service is performed in its national language. This population is daily diminishing, by the unceasing efforts of the Government to Germanize it. The primary schools for the children of that population are, with few exceptions, entrusted to teachers who are either entirely unacquainted with the Polish language, or have a very imperfect knowledge of it, which makes their Polish pupils spend their whole time in learning a little of German; whilst all other instruction given in these schools is lost to them. It frequently happens that the pupils learn by heart whole pages in German, without being able to understand them; and it is therefore natural that they should remain behind the German pupils, who receive instruction in their own tongue; and the circumstance is then ascribed to the intellectual inferiority of the Polish pupils. It is owing to this preposterous system of education that the population to which I allude is rapidly losing its language, many individuals abandoning it for the German, and forgetting it altogether; whilst others

speaking a mongrel dialect, corrupted by an admixture of German.

The only palladium of the national idiom amongst that population is the Bible, the beautiful language and correct style of which preserve it from entire destruction. The clergy to whose spiritual care this population is entrusted have made great efforts to obtain from the Government a change of the system which I have described, but all in vain. They have represented the mischief of an education which is more calculated to prevent than to promote the development of the pupil's intellect, and that the precepts of religion cannot produce any lasting impression upon the minds of the youths, unless taught in their native language. They have also represented that the Polish nationality of their churches, for the interests of the Protestant cause in general, ought to be preserved and developed, instead of being undermined and destroyed, because these churches might form "a bridge between Protestantism and the Slavonians." All these representations remain, however, without effect, although there are in Prussia some eminent Protestants who seem to understand the importance of the Polish Protestant Churches, and that the real interests of Protestantism demand that their nationality should be developed, and not depressed; but nothing to this effect has ever been done by the Prussian Government, whilst the system of Germanization to which I have alluded continues in full vigour.

Besides the national antipathies which have

been re-awakened by the circumstances to which I have alluded, and which will render nugatory every effort made by the Germans to spread Protestant doctrines amongst the Slavonians, there is yet another cause which has powerfully contributed to rally the Poles to the Roman Catholic Church, and to oppose the progress of German Protestantism, namely, the theological extravagances which prevail in Protestantism, and make it to be considered by the Poles as synonymous with infidelity.* The same causes which prevent the influence of German Protestantism on the Poles are applicable to the Bohemians and other Slavonians.

The Protestants who may promote in the most effective manner the cause of their religion amongst the Slavonians are those of Great Britain and of America; and the example of the great impression which the doctrines of Wickliffe produced in that distant quarter is a sure pledge that the truths of the gospel promoted by the countrymen of that great reformer may obtain in the same quarter greater success than might be expected. This, however, must be done with great prudence and discretion. I am perfectly convinced that every attempt at personal conversion would be, under

* The principal cause of the hostility which was shown to Czerski at Posen is, that the party to which he belongs was designated by the name of German Catholics, and that the extremes of Ronge, and other leaders of the movement originated by him, were ascribed to all of them. It was therefore very natural that the tendency of Czerski should be easily represented as anti-national and infidel.

the present circumstances, productive of more harm than good to the cause of Protestantism in those quarters. The first and indispensable step towards the restoration of the Protestant cause in the Slavonic countries is a revival of the remaining Protestant Churches, by re-animating their religious spirit, and restoring their injured nationality. No efforts should be spared for the attainment of this object, because the full development of the religious spirit and nationality of those Churches will be a seed bearing abundant fruit ; the existence of such Churches will meet with great approbation from many Roman Catholics, who are strongly opposed to German Protestantism, which, as I have shown, has been degraded into a tool for political ends. The spread of the Scriptures, but particularly of the New Testament, in the national language, should be also promoted as much as possible, using, in preference, the Roman Catholic authorised versions, in order that the clergy of that Church should have no reason to oppose their circulation. Translations of the best Protestant devotional works might be very beneficial, but those of a controversial character should be avoided, because the object of these translations must be to conciliate the Roman Catholic or Greek Slavonians, by proving to them that Protestantism is not infidelity, as many of them sincerely believe, but a purer form of Christianity, and not to hurt their feelings by an attack upon what is sacred to them. In short, the object of the Protestant efforts in

those parts should be, to enlighten and to improve, and not to destroy; for it will be much more easy to subvert the existing ecclesiastical order than to build up a new one, and an imperfect edifice is certainly preferable to a heap of ruins. A gradual reform of the national Churches in the Slavonic countries will have a beneficial influence on the religious and intellectual progress of the nation, and is therefore sure to meet with the approbation and support of all the thinking men in those parts, who will oppose every attempt at violent innovation, as more calculated to upset than to edify the minds of the people.

The greatest Slavonic country, Russia, is entirely shut against every Protestant effort, and the Protestant missionaries are not even allowed to convert the Pagan and Mahomedan populations under the dominion of that country. In Bohemia the scattered remnants of Protestantism begin now to show symptoms of new life; and the development of the Slavonic nationality of that country,* to which I have alluded (page 167), will probably be soon fol-

* While correcting the proof-sheet of this, I have received an interesting little work on Bohemia, by my friend the Rev. A. H. Wralislav, fellow and tutor of Christ College, Cambridge, who has spent three months during this last summer in that country, studying its language and condition; and I extract from it the following passage:—"I do not think that England could at the present time make a more acceptable and useful present to Bohemia than a reprint of the best old Bohemian translation of the Bible. Church reform is one of the universal topics there; and the old Bohemian Brethren are showing strong symptoms of revival."

lowed by a religious movement. Bohemia is better prepared for such a movement than any other country, because the oppression of her Slavonic nationality by the Jesuits, and the Austrian Government allied to the Roman hierarchy, have given to the national feeling a tendency opposed to Rome ; and Bohemia deserves, on this account, the particular attention of the British Protestants. The largest number of Protestant Slavonians is to be found amongst the Slovacks in the north of Hungary, who speak a dialect of the Bohemian language. They number about eight hundred thousand souls, partly belonging to the Confession of Geneva, but mostly, I believe, to that of Augsburg. Their nationality has not been attacked under the Hungarian Government, except some few attempts at Magyarization, which produced much deplorable contention between the Slavonic and Magyar Protestants. There are finally about 140,000 Protestant Wends in Lusatia, under the dominion of Prussia and Saxony. This little Slavonic population, whom I have described in page 7, is animated by a strong feeling of nationality, and it may, on account of the advanced state of its education, furnish many individuals capable of promoting the evangelization of their race. The intellectual and religious condition of the Slavonic Protestants deserves, I think, to interest the British and American Protestants, at least as much as that of the Christians scattered in the East. The latter have been the object of careful investigation on the part of travellers,

who, in spite of all the hardships and perils of the voyage, have visited those distant populations. Nothing of this kind, however, has been done as yet in respect to the Slavonic Protestant Churches, though I sincerely believe that a great service to the Protestant cause in general might be rendered, if some British gentlemen competent to the task would undertake a visit to these Churches, examine into their condition, and establish a permanent connection between them and their own country. The most important field presented by the Slavonic countries to the evangelical labours of the British and American Protestants are undoubtedly the populations belonging to this race, who follow the Eastern Church, and live under the dominion of the Ottoman Porte. An immense good might be done in Servia and Bulgaria, not by individual conversions to the Protestant religion, for this could do no general good under the present circumstances, but by means of spreading the Scriptures and promoting education and sound knowledge amongst the inhabitants of these countries in general, and the clergy in particular. The Slavonians of the Eastern Church will be much more accessible to the Protestants than the followers of Rome. Not only the people, but even the clergy, will be found ready to receive the Scriptures and works of devotion in their language, if presented to them in a proper manner, and without hurting their feelings or prejudices. They may be easily reached from the Ionian Islands, Constantinople, Thessalonica; and Belgrade may be

come a very important point in this respect. The Turkish Government will not prevent the spread of the gospel amongst its Christian subjects ; but, as I have already said, nothing of this kind is now allowed in Russia.

Besides the great end of promoting evangelical truth which prompts the British Protestants to further these objects amongst all the nations of the world, there is one reason which, I think, should induce them to pay, in this respect, a particular attention to the Slavonians. There can be no longer any doubt of the immense progress which the Romanist re-action has made in France, where, under the mask of Conservatism, it has succeeded in gaining an influence over the public affairs of that country, such as could have been obtained only in the most palmy days of priestly rule. This re-actionary party has already manifested in an unmistakeable manner its hostility towards England and its sympathy towards Russia ; and this tendency is not the result of some personal views or feelings of the leaders of that party, but lies in the very nature of things ; because Russia, notwithstanding the temporary misunderstanding with the Pope on account of the affairs of the Greek United Churches (page 399), has the same interest with him in opposing the progress of liberal opinions. The Papal See will bear much from Russia rather than come into hostile collision with that power, because it has never lost the hope of submitting the Russian Church to its supremacy, by means of a union similar to that of

Florence (page 315); and although this union may be now difficult to accomplish, its place may be supplied, meanwhile, by an alliance between the spiritual Czar of Rome and the political Pope of Russia. Such an alliance will not be a novelty; for it was in Russia that the order of the Jesuits, abolished elsewhere, found shelter, and preserved its existence,—a circumstance which greatly facilitated its restoration in 1814 by Pope Pius the Fourth. The Roman Catholic clergy of Poland were strongly supported by the Russian Government, which employed many of them for its re-actionary objects. The insurrection of 1830–31, however, roused the patriotic feelings of the great majority of the Polish clergy, so as to render the influence of Rome powerless against the voice of the country. Their conduct was severely censured by Pope Gregory the Sixteenth; but he was exceedingly mild in his remonstrances to the Russian Government about the forced separation of the United Greek Church from his authority (page 399), for he knew well that there was a greater danger to his dominion from the establishment of a liberal Government in Catholic Poland, than from the despotism of schismatic Russia, even should the oppression of that despotism be directed against a Catholic population. The restoration of the papal authority by the French expedition to Rome, the return of the Jesuits to Naples, and of the Liguoriani to Vienna, in consequence of the political re-action in these two capitals, evidently prove that religious and

political interests are now becoming more and more intimately connected, and that they will, at least for a time to come, exercise a great influence upon their mutual development. The interests of Popery, *i. e.* of religious despotism, are intimately connected with those of political absolutism, by which alone it can be maintained in its pure form. It may adapt itself in cases of necessity to liberal institutions, and maintain itself for a time amongst them, owing to peculiar circumstances; but it cannot stand long against free discussion, particularly in a place where its fountain-head is established. No arguments to the contrary can do away with the principles proclaimed by the encyclical letter of Gregory the Sixteenth, and the measures adopted by the papal commissioners at Rome, after its occupation by the French. Protestant Christianity requires for its development liberty, and its greatest enemy is despotism, whatever form it may assume, clerical, monarchical, or democratic; for it is all the same whether the liberty of spreading the pure Word of God, and the propagation of evangelical truth, be impeded by the regulations of an absolute power or by those of a republican authority or faction.* The same sacred cause can never be benefited by an alliance with, or the

* It was in consequence of the establishment of a constitutional regimen in Piedmont that the Waldensians obtained the full enjoyment of civil and political rights; and it is the absolute Government of Russia which has prohibited the Protestant missionaries from continuing their labours in its Asiatic provinces.

support of, an arbitrary power; and history proves that Protestantism was never so weak as when degraded into a tool or pretence for political objects or passions. I know that there are many pious and sincere men, particularly in Germany, who, frightened by the excesses of political aberrations and religious unbelief, look not only for the maintenance of social order, but also for that of religion, to the strong hand of an absolute power. It is foreign to my subject to discuss here how far they are warranted in their first supposition; but with regard to the second, I would only observe, that it is under the absolute Governments of Germany, and when their subjects have had no liberty of discussing political affairs, that Pantheism has been widely spread, and that doctrines subversive of every principle of religion and morality,—principles from which the infidel French writers of the eighteenth century would have shrunk with disgust,—have been openly propagated in that country.

Great and terrible as have been the commotions which have agitated continental Europe since February 1848, and the end of which we are far from having reached, they have been only the natural effect of long accumulated causes, and had been in a great measure foreseen and predicted by those who had watched their progress, although the suddenness of their outburst startled even those by whom it had been for a long time expected. Yet, if the outbreak of unsatisfied political and social wants and passions was foreseen by many, the

turn which the events produced by it has assumed was little expected by them. Of all the facts, however, which came to light, in consequence of the commotions to which I have alluded, none is perhaps more striking than the immense strength which the Romanist or priestly party has now manifested in France, by employing the forces of that country to crush the nascent political and religious liberty of Rome. It is, however, only the natural result of long and persevering efforts which that party has been making with unabated vigour. Diametrically opposed as I am to their views and objects, and deeply as I deplore their errors, I think that the unshaken fidelity which they have shown to their cause is far from deserving blame. Nothing, indeed, could be more desperate than the condition of Romanism appeared to be at the time when Napoleon was in the zenith of his glory,—its capital reduced to a provincial town of the French empire,—its head a captive,—and a complete indifference to its doctrines, and a contempt for its ceremonies, prevailing amongst all the educated classes of society. It was under these circumstances that some gifted and zealous individuals undertook to restore by their writings the fallen condition of the Roman Church. Lamennais' work, *Sur l'Indifference en Matiere de Religion*,* produced an immense sensation ; and

* Lamennais, who had rendered immense services to the cause of Rome by his powerful pen, had finally his eyes opened to its delusions ; but, unfortunately, he went to another extreme.

it was ably and zealously seconded by many other productions, but particularly by those of Count Joseph de Maistre and the Vicomte de Bonald. These works, written in a splendid style, attacked their opponents with the most captious argument, overwhelming them with an immense number of facts adapted to their purpose. It was therefore no wonder that such a union of talent and learning, animated by a sincere zeal, produced a powerful effect, particularly at a time when the want of religious principles was beginning to be generally felt, and that many ardent young minds rallied round the standard of the Roman Church, raised by such powerful champions. This party, which advocated at the same time political absolutism, rapidly increased, and was joined by some Protestants, men of uncommon talent, who passed to the Roman Church, and devoted their pens to its service.* This party, supported by the influence of the Roman Court, the restored Bourbons in France, and the policy of Metternich, obtained a great influence; but this success made them abandon their usual prudence, and seduced them into measures of a violent reaction, under the reign of the bigoted Charles the Tenth, which greatly contributed to bring about the revolution of July 1830. This was a severe blow upon the party. It did not, however, dishearten them; but, taught by experience, they no longer leant for support upon

* Such were, for instance, the well-known German political writers Haller, Jarcke, Philipp, &c.

the Government, as they had done from 1815 to 1830, but began now to work directly upon the people, employing, with redoubled vigour, the press, the pulpit, and the confessional; and we are now witnessing the result of these persevering efforts. It is but natural that this party should have been now joined by crowds of men who have no other principles than those of their interest, and by waiters on Providence, who find that the successful cause must be the right one; for, unfortunately, this was and will be the case always and everywhere. Justice, however, compels me to acknowledge, that the Romanist party has been joined by many sincere men, whose judgment was misled by their better feelings. The generality of men will not examine into the real merits or demerits of a cause, but judge of its worth by the manner in which it is defended. They will join that on the side of which they find great intellectual powers and unfeigned zeal; whilst they will often condemn and despise the best of causes which has not the advantage of being thus represented. The great zeal and the affectionate warmth with which the Romanists seek to win over their opponents, particularly such as, by their wealth, station, or talents, may be converted into useful allies, have often obtained a greater degree of success than the most logical arguments presented in a frigid manner. A public proclamation of truth from the pulpit, the platform, or through the press, will often, though supported by the most cogent reasons, fail in producing such a strong impression as that

which may be effected by individual exertion. And is it not very natural, that those who go into the highways gather more converts than those who remain at home, waiting until people shall knock at their door for admission? It is not only the poor in spirit who are in want of support; but there are men rich in intellect, but whose doubting minds and aching hearts will often easily submit to the genial influence of an affectionate interest, but recoil from the chilling touch of stern reason, unassisted by the magic powers of true sympathy. This was the case with many gifted individuals in Germany, and perhaps in a less distant quarter, whose position and principles place them above the suspicion of having been actuated by the base motives of personal interest, and whose superior intellect would have resisted the most captious arguments, but whose warm heart and vivid imagination were not proof against the fascinations of an intellectual and affectionate intercourse.

I hope that, having described as I have done the unprincipled proceedings of the Jesuits, and the calamities which they brought upon my own country and Bohemia, I cannot be suspected of any bias towards their order. Yet truth, the first duty of an historian, demands that justice should be rendered to those qualities which they have displayed on so many occasions. There can be but one opinion about the unscrupulous manner in which they have but too often prosecuted their objects; but their zeal and devotion to their Church, their perse-

verance in the pursuit of once commenced undertakings, their learning, prudence, tact, and skill in conducting the most difficult affairs, are worthy of a better cause ; and had half of those qualities been possessed by their opponents, many things would have turned out differently from what they have done. The Jesuits do not talk, but act ; for they know that words without deeds cannot produce either respect or confidence, but are only fit to discredit the best of causes, by throwing doubt on the sincerity of its promoters, and by creating a suspicion that they are used only as a blind to cover the real weakness of the cause. They are bitter enemies, but true friends ; and their adherents may rely upon their assistance as much as their opponents may fear their hostility. It is therefore no wonder that this party is served with so much zeal and devotion. They are hated, but not despised ; but hatred is generally akin to fear, and fear leads often to submission. Is it not then natural, that a party which is feared by its enemies and trusted by its friends should have great advantages over one which does not awaken either of these feelings ?

The Jesuits are eminently practical ; for they always employ the means best adapted for the attainment of the proposed end, knowing well that the want of ability cannot be supplied by good intentions alone. They do not indulge in puerile self-gratulations on an insignificant success ; but they consider it only as a stimulus for increased exertion, and as a stepping-stone for the attainment of more im-

this unprincipled proceeding, as well as every other means for the propagation of error, is knowledge. "Knowledge is power," as has been said by the great English philosopher ; and it is particularly so when applied to the defence of truths the most important to mankind. It was by the power of knowledge that Wickliffe, Huss, and the reformers of the sixteenth century, were enabled to shake off the spiritual thralldom which Rome had established during the middle ages ; and it is not by ignorance that its reactionary efforts can ever be counteracted.

The wonderful organization of the Jesuits, which has been compared to a sword, of which the hilt was at Rome and the edge everywhere, cannot be imitated by Protestants. The moral slavery which their order imposes upon its members is too diametrically opposed to the spiritual liberty which is the principal characteristic of Protestantism ; but it is going, I think, to another extreme, to admit that Protestantism is incapable of organization,—an assertion which the Roman Catholics repeat as a taunt, and which many Protestants acknowledge as a melancholy fact. I consider, however, this assertion by no means founded in truth ; for it would be the same as to declare that liberty is incompatible with order ; and I am convinced that, if many Protestant societies have been deficient in that mainspring of a powerful action, a proper organization, it is because the necessity of it has not yet been sufficiently felt. There can be no doubt, however, that an organization which should unite into

one focus all the talents and learning scattered amongst the Protestants, and give to its action that universality which their adversaries are displaying in order to mislead public opinion in more than one country, would soon produce palpable effects. The possibility of an efficient Protestant organization, and its great advantages, have been practically demonstrated by the powerful association created by the genius of Wesley. The Wesleyan body does not require the eulogy of such an humble individual as the author of this essay; and their great services, particularly in raising the religious, moral, and intellectual condition of the labouring classes, are acknowledged on all hands. I shall only remark, that although there may undoubtedly be found amongst other Protestant denominations as good, pious, and zealous Christians as amongst the Wesleyans, none of them has made such a continued and great progress as that branch of Protestantism, in extending its active and useful sphere,—an advantage which is entirely due to its efficient organization. May it long preserve this mainspring of its vitality, and continue to develop more and more the field of its Christian labours, extending them to the lands inhabited by the race whose religious history I have attempted to delineate in these lectures!

In taking leave of my reader I shall observe, that although the British Protestants have hitherto entirely overlooked the religious condition of the Slavonic nations, that of their own country is as constant an object of observation

and comment amongst these nations, as it is in the rest of Europe. The Church of England is the principal point to which the universal attention of the Continent is directed. All the affairs of that Church are carefully watched, because many hopes and fears are attached to its destiny. This attention was awakened for the first time by the celebrated work of Count Joseph Demaistre, *Du Pape*, published more than thirty years ago,* in which he confidently predicts the return of the Anglican Church to Rome; and the tendencies in that direction which have been manifested by several clerical and lay members of that Church have given an immense weight to the prediction. The importance of these tendencies has been greatly exaggerated by the Romanist party, who have succeeded in spreading widely the opinion that the Church of England is on the eve of being re-united with Rome. The most unfavourable reports about the condition of the English Church are at the same time sedulously propagated, representing it as fast verging towards dissolution; whilst those only who have lived in England are able to appreciate the learning and piety of its prelates, as well as the zeal, devotion, and truly Christian virtues displayed by its working clergy, who have often to struggle with severe hardships in the discharge of the arduous duties of their sacred calling. All this is done not without an object; because an intimate connection

* The preface is dated 1817.

between the most important Protestant Establishment,—for such the Church of England undoubtedly is,—and the Protestant Churches of the Continent, cannot but be very beneficial to the Protestant cause in general, and give it powerful means of counteracting the reactionary efforts of Rome, as well as the dangers arising from an opposite quarter. The importance of such a measure was perceived by Cranmer, who promoted it by attracting to England eminent Protestant divines from the Continent, and by sheltering the religious refugees from different parts of Europe. This was a preliminary step to the establishment of a permanent connection, which, if the days of Edward the Sixth had been prolonged, would have probably led to important consequences. It would be foreign to my subject to discuss here the state of relations which exist between the Protestants of Western Europe and those of Great Britain; but I would once more earnestly press upon the attention of the latter, the great advantages which may result to the cause of true religion, and consequently to that of civilization and humanity, by the establishment of intimate relations between them and the Protestant Slavonians, and those belonging to the Greek Church under the dominion of Turkey,—for those of Russia are inaccessible to them. The first and indispensable step towards the accomplishment of this great object is, as I have said, to investigate, on the spot, the real condition of these Slavonians, which, in the present state of communication, may be very easily accomplished, if

undertaken by some intelligent travellers. Such a connection, if properly and steadily effected, may be productive of incalculable benefits, because the développement of Scriptural religion amongst the Slavonians to whom I have alluded would have a powerful influence upon their whole race. This is, I think, a subject deserving of the attention of all sincere and thinking Protestants of Britain.

I conclude this rapid sketch of the religious history of the Slavonic nations, by expressing my sincere gratitude to my countrymen in particular, and my Slavonic brethren in general, for the indulgent and encouraging manner in which they have judged the efforts which I have already made to bring before the English public their political and religious condition, and for the support which they have given me by their communications on various important subjects, which are invaluable to one who, like myself, is placed at a great distance from the countries which were the subject of his labours ; and I sincerely hope that this sketch will meet with the same approbation in the quarters I have alluded to, and that it will be judged more by the sincerity of my intentions than by my ability to execute them.*

* I take this opportunity to express my deep sense of obligation to the accomplished German literateur Mr William Adolphus Lindau, whose skilful translations have introduced to the public of his country many of the most important productions of English literature, for having done this honour to my *History of the Reformation in Poland* and my essay on *Panslavism and Germanism*, as well

as for the flattering hope which he has held out in his preface to the latter, of conferring the same advantage upon my future labours. I am, indeed, under no small obligation to this gentleman, because, having rendered so admirably as he did my thoughts in a language understood by the generality of educated Slavonians, he has been the medium of communicating them not only to my nation, but also to my whole race.

APPENDIX.

THE SLAVONIANS IN MOREA.

A SINGULAR fact has been established by the well-known German writer M. Fallmerayer, in his *History of the Morea during the Middle Ages*,—that this part of Greece was in the possession of Slavonians from the sixth to the ninth century; which accounts for the many Slavonic names of places still found there, and explains in a satisfactory manner the name of Morea. A common notion is, that it was so called from the number of its mulberry trees (though it was not more noted for them than many other parts of the Byzantine empire); but it is far more reasonable to derive the name of that sea-girt peninsula from *more*, the sea, in Slavonic, especially as the Byzantine writers never used it, and always retained that of Peloponnesus; since they would not have objected to its adoption had it been a Greek word; and their only reason for rejecting it must have been its barbaric origin.

It is well known that the Slavonians, who had begun to make frequent inroads into the Greek empire under Justinian the First, were conquered during the second part of the sixth century by the Asiatic nation of the Avars, who had been induced by the court of Byzantium to attack the Slavonians. The Avars, however, became more formidable enemies to the Greek empire than the Slavonians had been; and these last, now marching under the banner of the Avars, and as their vanguard, penetrated to the very walls of Constantinople. The whole of the Peloponnesus was devastated by the Slavonians, with the exception of the Acrocorinthus, with its two seaports (Cenchrea and Lecheum), Patras, Modon, Coron, Argos, with the adjacent country Anapli, in the present district of

Praslo, Vitylos on the western slope of the Taygetus, and the highlands of Maina. The rest of the Peloponnesus was reduced to a complete desert, and the inhabitants who had not perished or been dragged into captivity, fled either to the above-mentioned strong places, or to the islands of the Archipelago.

The Slavonians, having thus conquered Morea, made there a permanent settlement. This is a fact which may be easily proved by a careful perusal of the Byzantine authors. Cedrenus, Theophanes, and the patriarch Nicephorus, who wrote in the eighth century, call the country from the Danube to the highlands of Arcadia and Messenia, Sclabinia, *i. e.* the country of the Slavi or Slavonians; and Constantine Porphyrogenetus says, that the whole of the Peloponnesus was, at the time of Constantine Copronymus (741-75) Slavonized and barbarized.

The dominion of the Avars, who had nearly ruined the Greek empire, was shaken to its very foundation by the revolt of the Slavonians in the west during the reign of the Emperor Heraclius (610-41),—the Slavonic nation of the Serbs and Chrobats (Servians and Croats) having been called by that emperor to expel them from the provinces south of the Danube. This left the Slavonians in quiet possession of the Peloponnesus, and the other lands they had wrested from the Avars, where, as they had done in other countries, following the bent of their natural disposition, they adopted the peaceful pursuits of agriculture and industry, and soon lost that warlike character they had displayed during their invasion of the Greek empire. This afforded to the Byzantine monarchs the means of attacking them with success; and Constans the Second (642-68) began a war on the country of Slavonia, in order to open a communication between the capital on one side and Philippi and Thessalonica on the other. Justinian the Second (685-95 and 705-10) also made a successful expedition against the Slavonians, and transplanted a great number of prisoners he took into Asia Minor. The Greek empire having become invigorated for a time, under the Isaurian dynasty, Con-

stantine Copronymus advanced in his conquest of Slavonia as far as Berea, to the south of Thessalonica, as is evident from an inspection of the frontiers of the empire made by order of the Empress Irene in 783. The Slavonians of the Peloponnesus were conquered under the reign of the Emperor Michael the Third (842-67), with the exception of the Milingi and Eseritæ, who inhabited Lacedemonia and Elis, as is related by Constantine Porphyrogenetus;* and their final subjugation was accomplished by the Emperor Basilus the First, or the Macedonian (867-86); after which, the Christian religion and the Greek civilization completely Hellenized them, as their brethren on the shores of the Baltic were Germanized.

The influence of the occupation of Morea by the Slavonians is still traceable in that country. Many localities described by Pausanias, and even Procopius, have disappeared, and have been replaced by others, bearing Slavonic names, as Goritza, Slavitza, Veligosti, &c. &c. It is almost superfluous to observe, that the inhabitants from whose language the names of localities were derived must have remained a considerable time on the spot, when the names continue in use after the people themselves have disappeared as a nation from the country where the places named by them are situated.

It appears, therefore, that the present population of Morea has at least as much Slavonic as Hellenic blood in its veins. "The Moreote character bears," however, as a modern traveller has observed,† "a far stronger resemblance to that of the ancient Greeks than of the Slavonians, or any other people, as do their customs, the habits of their different communities, their feelings, and dispositions; and though they inherit few of the noble qualities of their ancestors, they possess their acuteness and cunning, and are equally *dolis instructi et arte Pelasga* with the Greeks of old." This is certainly not the case with the Slavonians.

* *De Administrando Imperio*, part ii. chap. lvi.

† Sir Gardner Wilkinson, in his *Dalmatia and Montenegro*, vol. ii. page 453.

*Survey of the Slavonic Populations, according to the different States to which they belong.
Computed by Szaflarik in 1842.*

	RUSSIA.	AUSTRIA.	PRUSSIA.	TURKEY.	REPUBLIC OF CRACOW.	SAXONY.	TOTAL.
Great Russians, or Muscovites . . .	35,314,000	...	...	...	...	...	35,314,000
Little Russians, or Ruthenians . . .	10,370,000	2,774,000	...	...	...	...	13,144,000
White Russians . . .	2,726,000	...	...	...	...	...	2,726,000
Bulgarians . . .	80,000	7,000	...	3,500,000	...	...	3,587,000
Servians, or Illyrians	100,000	2,594,000	...	2,600,000	...	...	5,294,000
Croats . . .	...	801,000	...	...	...	...	801,000
Carynthians . . .	...	1,151,000	...	...	...	...	1,151,000
Poles . . .	4,912,000	2,341,000	1,982,000	...	130,000	...	9,365,000
Bohemians and Mora- vians . . .	...	4,370,000	44,000	...	...	...	4,414,000
Slovaks in Northern Hungary . . .	...	2,753,000	...	...	...	...	2,753,000
Lusatians, or Wends, Upper . . .	...	...	38,000	...	...	60,000	98,000
Do. Lower . . .	...	...	44,000	...	...	...	44,000
Total . . .	53,502,000	16,791,000	2,108,000	6,100,000	130,000	60,000	78,691,000

*Survey of the Slavonic Populations, according to the different Religious Persuasions to which they belong.
Computed by Scaffariti in 1842.*

	GREEK OR EASTERN CHURCH.	GREEK UNITED WITH ROME.	ROMAN CATHOLICS.	PROTESTANTS.	MAHOMETANS.
Great Russians, or Muscovites	35,314,000	2,990,000	350,000	...	250,000
Little Russians, or Malorusses	10,154,000	...	50,000	...	550,000
White Russians	2,376,000	...	1,864,000	...	
Bulgarians	3,287,000	...	801,000	13,000	
Servians, or Illyrians	2,880,000	...	1,138,000	442,000	
Croats . . . . .	...	...	8,923,000	144,000	
Carynthians . . . . .	...	...	4,270,000	800,000	
Poles . . . . .	...	...	1,953,000	88,000	
Bohemians and Moravians . .	...	...	10,000	44,000	
Slovaks (in the north of Hun- gary) . . . . .	...	...	...
Lusatians, or Wends, Upper . .	...	...	
Lusatians or Wends, Lower . .	...	...	
Total	54,011,000	2,990,000	19,359,000	1,531,000	800,000

E R R A T A.

Page	2, line 20, <i>for</i>	Slowianie	<i>read</i>	Slovianie.
~	7, ~ 39, ~	towns	~	homes.
~	27, ~ 7, ~	890	~	590.
~	34, ~ 29, ~	at Pomerania	~	in Pomerania.
~	46, ~ 25, ~	Grubennaimer	~	Grubenhaimer.
~	62, ~ 11, ~	made	~	having made.
~	121, ~ 22, ~	Charles the Third	~	Charles the Fourth.
~	143, ~ 10, ~	Charles the Third	~	Charles the Fourth.
~	146, ~ 21, ~	year	~	years.
~	202, ~ 21, ~	Lasco	~	A Lasco.
~	204, ~ 28, ~	who knew	~	who will know.
~	220, ~ 1, ~	promoter	~	promoters.
~	224, ~ 26, ~	in expectation	~	in expressions.
~	247, ~ 6, ~	in that country	~	in Poland.
~	247, ~ 15, ~	unfitted	~	unfit.
~	255, ~ 8, ~	1665-60	~	1655-60.
~	277, ~ 32, ~	a bond for iniquity	~	a bond of iniquity.
~	293, ~ 17, ~	Sdrowski	~	Sudrowski.
~	300, ~ 3, ~	to the reign of	~	to the end of the reign.
~	301, ~ 29, ~	were trained	~	was trained.
~	305, ~ 28, ~	in the same capa- city as before.	~	in the same capa- city.
~	440, ~ 16, ~	single parish priests.	~	simple parish priests.
~	441, ~ 20, ~	Arnold	~	Aradt.

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